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THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED'S opinion of the practicability of emancipating the slaves in the South is worth recording, and his suggestions are not without value. They appear to have occurred to him during a visit he paid to the plantation of a Mr. X——, in South Carolina, whom he greatly extols for his humane treatment of his slaves, and for the excellent manner in which he managed them. We append the extracts, merely premising that the "fellows" referred to are grog-shop keepers, who, besides selling a poisonous compound to the slaves, incite them to theft.

LAWS OF TRADE ON THE PLANTATION.

"Mr. X. remarks that his arrangements allow his servants no excuse for dealing with these fellows. He has a rule to purchase every thing they desire to sell, and to give them a high price for it, himself. Eggs constitute a circulating medium on the plantation. Their par value is considered to be twelve for a dime, at which they may always be exchanged for cash, or left on deposit, without interest, at his kitchen.

"Whatever he takes of them that he cannot use in his own family, or has not occasion to give to others of his servants, is sent to town, to be resold. The negroes do not commonly take money for the articles he has of them, but the value of them is put to their credit, and a regular account kept with them. He has a store, usually well supplied with articles that they most want, which are purchased in large quantities, and sold to

them at wholesale prices; thus giving them a great advantage in dealing with him rather than with the grog-shops. His slaves are sometimes his creditors to large amounts; at the present time he says he owes them above five hundred dollars. A woman has charge of the store, and when there is any thing called for that she cannot supply, it is usually ordered by the next conveyance, of his factors in town.

SUGGESTIVE.

"The ascertained practicability of thus dealing with slaves, together with the obvious advantages of the method of working them by tasks, which I have described, seem to me to indicate that it is not so impracticable as is generally supposed, if only it was desired by those having the power, to rapidly extinguish Slavery, and, while doing so, to educate the negro for taking care of himself in freedom. Let, for instance, any slave be provided with all things he will demand, as far as practicable, and charge him for them at certain prices—honest market prices—for his necessities, higher prices for harmless luxuries, and excessive, but not absolutely prohibitory, prices for every thing likely to do him harm. Credit him, at a fixed price, for every day's work he does, and for all above a certain easily accomplished task in a day at an increased price, so that his reward will be in an increasing ratio to his perseverance. Let the prices of provisions be so proportioned to the price of task-work, that it will be about as easy as it is now for him to obtain a bare subsistence. When he has no food and shelter due him, let him be confined in solitude, or otherwise punished, until he asks for oppor-

tunity to earn exemption from punishment, by labour.

"When he desires to marry, and can persuade any woman to marry him, let the two be dealt with as in partnership. Thus, a young man or young woman will be attractive, somewhat in proportion to his or her reputation for industry and providence. Thus, industry and providence will become fashionable. Oblige them to purchase food for their children, and let them have the benefit of their children's labour, and they will be careful to teach their children to avoid waste, and to honour labour. Let those who have not gained credit while hale and young, sufficient to support themselves in comfort when prevented by age or infirmity from further labour, be supported by a tax upon all the negroes of the plantation, or of a community. Improvidence, and pretence of inability to labour, will then be disgraceful.

"When any man has a balance to his credit equal to his value as a slave, let that constitute him a free man. It will be optional with him and his employer whether he shall continue longer in the relation of servant. If desirable for both that he should, it is probable that he will; for unless he is honest, prudent, industrious, and discreet, he will not have acquired the means of purchasing his freedom.

"If he is so, he will remain where he is, unless he is more wanted elsewhere; a fact that will be established by his being called away by higher wages, or the prospect of greater ease and comfort elsewhere. If he is so drawn off, it is better for all parties concerned that he should go. Better for his old master; for he would not refuse him sufficient wages to induce him to stay, unless he could get the work, he wanted him to do, done cheaper than he would justly do it. Poor wages would certainly, in the long run, buy but poor work; fair wages, fair work.

"Of course there will be exceptional cases, but they will always operate as cautions for the future, not only to the parties suffering, but to all who observe them. And be sure they will not be suffered, among ignorant people, to be lost. This is the beneficent function of gossip, with which wise and broad-working minds have nothing to do, such not being benefited by the iteration of the lessons of life.

"Married persons, of course, can only become free together. In the appraisement of their value, let that of their young children be included, so that they cannot be parted from them; but with regard to children old enough to earn something more than their living, let it be optional what they do for them.

"Such a system would simply combine the commendable elements of the emancipation law of Cuba,\* and those of the reformatory punishment system, now in successful operation in some of

the British penal colonies, with a few practical modifications. Further modifications would, doubtless, be needed, which any man who has had much practical experience in dealing with slaves might readily suggest. Much might be learned from the experience of the system pursued in the penal colonies, some account of which may be seen in the report of the Prisoners'-Aid Society of New York, for 1854, or in a previous little work of my own. I have here only desired to suggest, *apropos* to my friend's experience, the practicability of providing the negroes an education in essential social morality, while they are drawing towards personal freedom; a desideratum with those who do not consider Slavery a purely and eternally desirable thing for both slave and slave-master, which the present system, I think, is calculated, as far as possible, in every direction to oppose. My reasons for thus thinking I may hereafter give in some detail.

"Education in theology and letters could be easily combined with such a plan as I have hinted at; or, if a State should wish to encourage the improvement of its negro constituent—as, in the progress of enlightenment and Christianity, may be hoped to eventually occur—a simple provision of the law, making a certain standard of proficiency the condition of political freedom, would probably create a natural demand for education, which commerce, under its inexorable higher-laws, would be obliged to satisfy.

#### SPECIAL NATURAL DEPRAVITY OF NEGROES.

"I do not think, after all I have heard to favour it, that there is any good reason to consider the negro, naturally and essentially, the moral inferior of the white; or, that if he is so, it is in those elements of character which should for ever prevent us from trusting him with equal social munities with ourselves.

"So far as I have observed, slaves shew themselves worthy of trust most, where their masters are most considerate and liberal towards them. Far more so, for instance, on the small farms of North Carolina than on the plantations of Virginia and South Carolina. Mr. X.'s slaves are permitted to purchase fire-arms and ammunition, and to keep them in their cabins; and his wife and daughters reside with him, among them, the doors of the house never locked, or windows closed, perfectly defenceless, and miles distant from any other white family.

"Another evidence that negroes, even in Slavery, when trusted, may prove wonderfully reliable, I will subjoin, in a letter written by Mr. Alexander Smets, of Savannah, to a friend in New York, in 1853. It is hardly necessary to say, that the 'servants' spoken of were negroes, and the 'suspicious characters,' providentially removed, were whites. The letter was not written for publication:

"The epidemic which spread destruction and desolation through our city, and many other places in most of the Southern States, was, with the exception of that of 1820, the most deadly that was ever known here. Its appearance being sudden, the inhabitants were seized with a panic, which caused an immediate *saute qui peut* seldom witnessed before. I left, or rather fled, for the

\* In Cuba every slave has the privilege of emancipating himself, by paying a price, which does not depend upon the selfish exactions of the masters; but it is either a fixed price, or else is fixed, in each case, by disinterested appraisers. The consequence is, that emancipations are constantly going on, and the free people of colour are becoming enlightened, cultivated, and wealthy. In no part of the United States do they occupy the high social position which they enjoy in Cuba.



sake of my daughters, to Sparta, Hancock county. They were dreadfully frightened.

"Of a population of [fifteen thousand, six thousand, who could not get away, remained, nearly all of whom were more or less seized with the prevailing disease. The negroes, with very few exceptions, escaped.

"Amidst the desolation and gloom pervading the deserted streets, there was a feature that shewed our slaves in a favourable light. There were entire blocks of houses, which were either entirely deserted, the owners in many instances having, in their flight, forgotten to lock them up, or left in charge of the servants. A finer opportunity for plunder could not be desired by thieves; and yet the city was remarkable, during the time, for order and quietness. There were scarcely any robberies committed, and, as regards fires, so common in the winter, none! Every householder, whose premises had escaped the fury of the late terrific storm, found them in the same condition he had left them. Had not the yellow fever scared away or killed those suspicious characters, whose existence is a problem, and who prowl about every city, I fear that our city might have been laid waste. Of the whole board of directors of five banks, three or four remained, and these at one time were sick. Several of the clerks were left, each in the possession of a single one. For several weeks it was difficult to get any thing to eat: the bakers were either sick or dead. The markets closed, no countryman dared venture himself into the city with the usual supplies for the table, and the packets had discontinued their trips. I shall stop, otherwise I could fill a volume with the occurrences and incidents of the dismal period of the epidemic."

#### PAPER ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

THE meeting of the *National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, held at Liverpool on the 11th ultimo, and the five following days, was in every respect successful, and afforded an opportunity for the presentation of papers on subjects intimately connected with the interests of every community. Amongst others was one on the results of Emancipation in the British West Indies, which was read on Thursday the 14th, in the first section of the Social Science Department, by the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, over which department Sir James Stephen presided. We append a report of the proceedings taken from the *Times* and the local journals, and a reprint of the paper.

#### REPORT.

"The first paper on the list for to-day (Thursday, 14th Oct.) was one announced to be read by Lord Brougham, from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*; but his lordship being obliged to preside at the section of Jurisprudence, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, at the sitting of the general section, two other papers were previously taken. At this stage, however, Lord Brougham entered the sec-

tion, and the department was soon thronged to excess. His lordship, who was warmly applauded, said, it appeared from all that had taken place in the United States—he grieved to say, not so much to the credit of their own brethren and kinsmen in those States as one could wish—from all that had passed in those States, divided as they were into two parties, one zealously holding up what they called the institution of Slavery, the other holding that it was a great misfortune to the country that there should be what had obtained the name of 'the institution'—it appeared that it had been frequently said, in answer to the name thus given to Slavery, 'True, it is an institution, but you say that slave-trading is a branch of the institution, and so ancient, as to have existed time out of mind:' then it had been answered to that, 'There is another thing still more ancient, though it has not been dignified by the name of 'institution,' and that is murder, because it does so happen that the first man that was born murdered the second.' That had been the answer to the advocates of 'the institution' both in America and on this side of the Atlantic; but when the great cause of humanity and justice, and of sound policy as well as of humanity and justice, led to the abolition of that infernal traffic, and then to the emancipation of the slave, all the Slavery party, the friends of 'the institution,' in the United States, forthwith began to say, 'What have you gained by your emancipation? How much have you lost by it? Has it succeeded, or has it failed? It has now been twenty years in operation: what has been the result? What have been the effects of it? Let us know, if you are not afraid to look into the facts. If you are afraid, it is a proof that you are in the wrong, and that it has been a failure; but if you are not afraid to look into it, let us hear exactly what has been the result; what the real working of the free system as compared with the former system; and then we shall be able to say whether it is fit that we should adopt your course in the United States.' It had therefore been suggested and strongly recommended to the friends of the emancipation of the slave, that a very distinct statement should be prepared of the facts, so as to answer the question, and to shew what the real effect had been—what had been the real working of the great measure of 1833. The consequence of this was, that he, having certainly always taken a very anxious part in this question, was appealed to by many on both sides of the Atlantic to endeavour to prepare this paper. He referred it to the *Anti-Slavery Society* to obtain all the facts: facts so authenticated, that they could be relied on; facts so bearing upon the question, that they should be a real answer to it. He begged that this might be done without delay, offering, if need be, and if he had health and strength to continue working in it long enough to do so—being unable to go over to the West Indies, or to France, or to Holland, where the facts were chiefly to be gathered, in addition to those to be collated in our own country and by correspondence with our English colonies—offering, if need be, and they could not find time, that he would undertake to prepare the statement himself before the meeting of the Association. Happily Mr. Chamerovzow, the

worthy Secretary of the Society, had been able to undertake it, and this gentleman went over to Holland, where a great deal of information was to be obtained, though, his Lordship was afraid, not so much as was expected. Then he went to Paris, where a little more information was to be obtained; and that, together with the information to be had in our own country, from Government and other sources, had enabled him to prepare a statement which his lordship had no doubt they would hear read with very great satisfaction; and he was certain, at all events, they would hear it read with very great interest. He should himself have undertaken the task of reading it, but Mr. Chamerovzow was there himself, and, though a foreigner, he was perfectly acquainted with the English language, and would do his own paper adequate justice in the reading. His lordship had therefore great pleasure in introducing to them his friend, the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, who would lay before them the statement in answer, he would repeat, to the question, to the challenge, the defiance, that had been flung against us from the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Chamerovzow said, that before reading the paper, he would solicit permission to set the meeting right on a point respecting which there was a danger of its falling into error. His recent journey to Holland and to France had been undertaken, not for the purpose of collecting information on the results of emancipation in our colonies, but to ascertain how the anti-slavery cause was progressing in the former country, which had not yet declared emancipation, and to procure, in the latter, what information it was possible on the subject of the French immigration scheme, or what might more correctly be called the new French slave-trade. (Hear, hear, from Lord Brougham.) In writing the paper he was about to read, he had confined himself strictly to our own West-India colonies, and had endeavoured to restrict his observations to the results of emancipation in them alone.

#### ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

A paper read at the Second Annual Meeting of the *Society for the Advancement of Social Science* held at Liverpool, Oct. 11, 1858.

A quarter of a century has not elapsed, since, by an Act of the Legislature, the British nation washed its hands of the foul sin of Slavery, by striking the chains from eight hundred thousand of our fellow-subjects, held in bondage in our colonies. This memorable act of national justice, however, was not effected without a struggle. Indeed it is doubtful whether, up to that period, the annals of our history present a record of a contest so momentous; one in which the interests and welfare of so many persons were involved; which enlisted on the side of the oppressed class so much popular sympathy;

which gave rise to so large an amount of party feeling; which brought out so many remarkable men; or the consummation of which was more honourable to the English people. The Act of Abolition marked an era in our social history. It also set a bright example to slaveholding communities; and it has added the fairest page to the annals of the movement for the promotion of which the Society under whose auspices we are assembled has been instituted. It is a fact worthy of record, too, that the venerated first President of this Association, was one of the great champions of the enslaved negro. Emulating the philanthropic exertions of Clarkson and Wilberforce, his early efforts—happily successful—were directed to rendering it a penal offence to steal free men from their African homes, for the purpose of converting them into slaves; and subsequently, in assailing the system which depended on the slave-trade for continuous supplies of fresh victims. In those memorable words of his, "Away the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in his fellow-man," may be summed up the great principle which that unrighteous system outraged. From this principle—the denial of the right of one man to make a chattel of his fellow-creature—the advocates of Negro Emancipation have never swerved. It constitutes the corner-stone of the abolition cause. It comprises at once the religious and the philosophical element of the whole question. Those who assume that the expediency of emancipation may be measured by a lower standard, have no just appreciation of the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, nor of the moral responsibility of society for the continuance, in its midst, of an evil which is destructive of all social ties, and therefore antagonistic to social progress.

In dealing with emancipation, as a subject of inquiry, the great principle which justifies it must be kept in view. By that standard it is to be tested, and its results are to be judged of as they have affected the condition and the well-being of the emancipated classes. To benefit them, emancipation was decreed, and if it can be demonstrated that they have advanced in the social scale, have become good citizens, are worthier in their family relations, and are otherwise discharging, with promise, the responsibilities of their new state, it may be alleged that emancipation has achieved its object. It would seem to admit of no doubt that, under any circumstances, the position of a free man must be immeasurably superior to that of a slave; for freedom presupposes the possession of every natural right, and of those acquired ones which civilized communities confer, whereas Slavery involves their obliteration, and, with them, the very personality of the individual. There is, however, a class of persons who maintain that the negro, in a state of Slavery, is better off than when he is free, and that the grand experiment of his



emancipation has proved a failure. Greatly is it to be deplored that such erroneous views are entertained, and yet more, that influential organs of public opinion, whose directors have access to sources of information which establish the exact contrary fact, should open their columns to statements of such mischievous tendency.

But in what sense, it may be asked, has emancipation proved a failure? Has it failed to restore to freedom those who were enslaved? to give them liberty of locomotion? to restore to them the right to dispose of their own time? to labour for wages at whatever occupation suits them, and for the employer of their own selection? to possess and to dispose of their earnings? to buy and to occupy land on their own account? to acquire knowledge, secular and religious, and to utilize it for their own benefit? Has it failed to re-establish, in their behalf, the sacred ties of kindred; their right to the possession of their wives, husbands, children? Has it failed to give them that of appealing against injustice, cruelty, and oppression? Let them who maintain that emancipation has failed, prove that it has done so in these respects; or, let them hold their peace.

It may, indeed, be granted, that notwithstanding the immense amelioration that has taken place in the condition of the coloured race, there is room for improvement. The same may be said of any community. But let whatever shortcomings are alleged against the emancipated classes be only traced to their source, and they will be found to be chargeable to the condition whence the people have been happily rescued. Even if a general accusation of idleness could be established against them, a disinclination to work might fairly be regarded as the natural result of a system which not only makes labour compulsory, but renders it degrading; and were immorality the rule instead of the exception, it might find its excuse in the example of unbridled licentiousness, set by the governing classes through a series of years, and in the absence, under slavery, of all respect for the marriage-tie, and other social obligations. Happily, however, the friends of the negro are not required to solicit indulgence for him in these respects. They only ask that facts may be permitted to speak for themselves, and they demand for him but a fair hearing and an honest judgment.

In a paper, limited as to length, it would be impossible to enter into details sufficiently complete to present a perfect sketch of the actual condition of the labouring population of our West-India colonies. There is considerable diversity in the circumstances and position of each, and these exercise a corresponding influence upon the habits of the people. To wit: Barbados is blessed with a population surpassing that of any European country—except, perhaps, Malta—and equal to any Asiatic, not excepting China. Corrected, for natural increase, at the annual rate

of 1½ per cent. upon the census of 1851—the last taken—the total population would be 150,219, concentrated within an area of about 166 square miles, giving a proportion of 905 to the square mile. The superficial area of the island is computed at 106,470 acres, of which upwards of 100,000 are under some kind of cultivation; and as the waste land lies in gullies, or other practically inaccessible situations, there is none available for occupation by squatting, which is therefore unknown there. British Guiana presents, in this respect, a marked contrast to Barbados. It has an Atlantic seaboard extending 240 miles, bounded on one side by the territory of Venezuela, and on the other by Dutch Guiana, while its limits inland are hardly yet determined; the greater portion of its interior being an unexplored region of far-stretching forests, mountains and table-land, thinly inhabited—where not entirely desert—by rude native tribes. Over this immense territory—rudely estimated at 60,000 square miles—there is a population which, corrected for natural increase, since 1851, and for immigration, does not exceed 150,000, and of this number at least one-half are foreigners, with an excess of 27 per cent. of males. With such an abundance of waste land to fall back upon, it ought not to excite surprise were the practice of “squatting” more prevalent than it is. Happily the inducement to vagrant occupancy, which the facility of indulging in it holds out, is counteracted by the cheapness of land in the heart of the colony; hence, although “squatting” obtains, it is only to a very limited extent, whereas freehold proprietorship is the rule.

It is obvious that colonies like Barbados and British Guiana, the one having no spare land, but an overflowing population, the other sparsely peopled, but with a superabundance of unoccupied territory, must present remarkable points of contrast, and that no general assertion will apply equally to both, still less to the rest of the colonies; for if in any one—as in Barbados—there is an enormous excess of labour, and in any other—as in British Guiana—only or scarcely sufficient to meet the demand, it could not be alleged that therefore labour throughout the colonies is either in excess, or falls short, of the requirements of the labour-market. Jamaica, again, has features peculiar to itself. Not only has it had to struggle against the effects of an ill-advised fiscal measure—in common with the other colonies—but it has been visited by a series of calamities of the most appalling kind. In 1850-51, and in 1853, cholera, and in the intervals, small-pox and influenza, scourged the population, diminishing it by least 50,000 out of 400,000; that is, by one eighth. Seven years of drought, commencing in 1840, threw a number of plantations out of cultivation; and the Imperial Act of 1846 completed the ruin of those sugar-planters who had survived the effects of the visitations of Pro-

vidence, and were beginning again to prosper. But this was not all. A vicious local legislature saddled the community with official debts to the amount of 200,000*l.*, besides 300,000*l.* expended in unproductive schemes of immigration to replace the labour of the emancipated peasantry, when, in consequence of the abandonment of estates, considerable numbers of unemployed labourers were being daily thrown upon the market. To meet this debt of 500,000*l.*, and to provide for the current expenditure, an *ad valorem* duty of 12 per cent. is levied on the invoice of all imported goods; a measure which materially affects the prosperity of the labouring classes, on whom the burden chiefly falls. Nor must the fact be lost sight of, that the abandonment of estates in Jamaica has caused the withdrawal from annual circulation of an enormous sum of money. At the period of emancipation, there were 600 sugar estates in cultivation. In 1855, that number had been reduced to 300. It is true that the causes which led to their abandonment were altogether independent of emancipation; but the result was the same; for estimating that only 2000*l.*—a low average—was expended every year on each sugar estate, for the cost of labour, we have 600,000*l.* for the 300 abandoned estates of this class. Add 200,000*l.* as equivalent to the annual disbursement for work on coffee plantations, also abandoned, and there is a gross total of 800,000*l.*, representing the industry of the plantation labourer, no longer circulating, year by year, in the trade of the island, as wages for work.

Passing to Trinidad—next to Jamaica the largest of the British West-India islands, and, considering its position and great capabilities, scarcely second to it in importance—we find it also presenting exceptional features. Embracing an area of some 2400 square miles, its population does not exceed 75,000, but so miscellaneous and mixed, as to defy any attempt to define it accurately. The Creoles do not number more than 43,000, greatly scattered and most irregularly distributed, one county alone absorbing more than a half of the entire population. Thus constituted, an advanced state of society can hardly be expected; especially taking into consideration that there are few resident landed proprietors, few merchants deserving the name from the largeness of their commercial transactions, few well-educated professional men, no schools for the higher branches of education, no college, no university. Then with regard to the land, of the 1,536,000 acres, constituting the entire surface of the island, the enormous proportion of 1,336,000 acres is the property of the crown, leaving only about 200,000 acres ascertainable as belonging to private individuals, of which not more than 32,000 acres are under cane cultivation. To work these, the available labouring strength of the island may be set down

at 50,000 individuals, of whom at least 35,000 are immigrants. It may reasonably be doubted whether, under the circumstances, the present outcry in this colony, for fresh supplies of immigrants, is necessitated by any real dearth of labour, and whether a further influx of them would even be desirable; whilst in judging of the results of emancipation there, we must not omit to take into account the influence which the introduction of so numerous a body of heathens and other foreigners has undoubtedly exercised upon the habits of the emancipated classes, and how it has affected their relations with their former masters.

It is unnecessary, for the mere purpose of illustrating an argument, to extend this branch of the subject, by dwelling upon the distinctive features of each of the remaining colonies. Enough has been said to lead us to expect that emancipation has not produced uniform results in them all, but that these have been more or less modified by accidents of situation and fortuitous circumstances, as well as by natural differences in the character and habits of their inhabitants, by the influence of example, and by retrogressive legislation. In spite, however, of drawbacks, emancipation has achieved its main object, for the emancipated classes exhibit to the world the highly encouraging spectacle of a people scarcely one generation removed from Slavery, steadily progressing in industry, morality, and education, and, with respect to religion, sustaining a favourable contrast with communities that have, for a series of years, been the most highly-favoured under free institutions.

But specific charges are brought against the freed negroes and their descendants. It is alleged that, left to themselves, they relapse into a condition worse than the one from which they were rescued, gradually, indeed, retrograding into actual barbarism; that they are indolent, immoral, impertinent, unwilling to work for wages, averse to acquire education themselves, and negligent, in this respect, of their children; and that, as a consequence, West-India estates have fallen into decay and ruin, and been abandoned. Leaving, for the present, the consideration of the latter position, let us deal with the specific charges, by opposing to them the testimony of competent witnesses, official and non-official, condensed to meet our present requirements.

One of the most important, and, at the same time, the most recent additions to the immense proofs that might be quoted in favour of the industrious habits of the West-India peasantry, has been furnished, since this paper was commenced, by His Excellency Governor Hincks, of Barbados. He says, in a letter to Mr. Charles Tappan, of New York:

"I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the Creoles of African descent, that they are indolent, and have aban-



doned the sugar plantations. I admit that the planters generally, in several of the British colonies, would vehemently maintain the correctness of this charge. I am, however, bound to affirm that, after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the labouring classes ought to be worse in Barbados than in any of the other colonies. In Barbados land is exorbitantly dear, being worth, in small quantities, from 400 dollars to 600 dollars per acre. Wages are from tenpence to one shilling per day. There are only five working-days in the week, except during crop-time. With all these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island, holding less than five acres of land, increased in sixteen years from about 1100 to 3537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of labourers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove, that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of the Creoles of African descent. I think, that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the labourers.

"The opinions which I have expressed in this letter have been formed after patient and impartial inquiry, and are sincerely held. I am bound, however, to add, that few of the planters would admit that I have assigned correct reasons for the abandonment of the estates by the labourers.

"Meanwhile, it is sufficient for me further to observe, that it is generally admitted that the negro understands his own interest; and if, as all agree, the most profitable cultivation in these islands is that of the sugar-cane, it must follow that the Creole would pursue that branch of industry, if sufficient inducements were held out to him. I maintain, that wherever those inducements are offered, he invariably does labour at cane cultivation."

Facts of this kind, given on such testimony, speak more eloquently than whole volumes of Blue Books and official reports, and should be a sufficient reply to the calumnious allegations of anonymous writers like *Expertus*, whose letter to the *Times*, followed up by leaders supporting his views, and conveying additional errors, created so great a sensation a few months ago. We will, however, adduce the evidence of the *Barbados Liberal* of the 11th of April last, the principal newspaper in the island. The editor says:

"At this moment, speaking generally, and in the strictly commercial sense, nothing could be more satisfactory than our condition and prospects in a material point of view. The gloomy forebodings of abandoned fields, short crops, and depreciated property, which haunted many as the certain results to follow emancipation, have not only not been realized here in any degree, but not

even apprehended as in the least likely to be, since the brief period of feverish excitement immediately consequent on that measure of justice to a deeply-injured and patient people. Labour, from that time to the present, has been always abundant, and, every thing considered, cheap, the free-labourer working cheerfully and steadily, as a general rule, wherever he has been fairly treated, and doing, on the whole, a far greater amount of work than the slave had ever been thought capable of rendering to the sternest of masters. Putting aside the lengthened period of severe drought, from 1839 to 1845, cultivation has, in consequence, gone on steadily extending, and our staple productions increasing, until they now nearly double those of the palmiest days of Slavery. Property has maintained and increased its value proportionately with the greater security of procuring a ready supply of labour at moderate wages. And if, at times, the state of the produce-market has left the investment without profit, we have only to consider the question fairly, to be fully satisfied that such a state of things in Slavery would have been attended with far more calamitous results. What would have been the effects, as far as our experience enables us to determine, of the Act of 1846, equalizing the sugar duties, had it come upon us in 1826 instead?"

It will be objected, that Barbados is an exceptional instance of prosperity, and that it is time lost to quote additional evidence to prove what is admitted. Let us pass, then, to British Guiana. Here is the evidence of an anonymous writer, the author of a considerable pamphlet entitled, "Demerara, after Fifteen Years of Freedom;" by a Landowner. He is writing in 1853, and says:

"The only other inhabitants of British Guiana, of whom it will be necessary to speak, is that portion of the native population, which, in other countries, would constitute the labouring classes. Their numbers may be stated at 70,000; and they present the singular spectacle, to be witnessed in no other part of the world, and of which history affords no parallel, of a people just emerged from Slavery, now enjoying property in houses and lands, for which they have probably paid little less than a million of money. This fact would appear altogether incredible, were it not substantiated by official documents. In these it is stated that the number of houses in the villages and hamlets throughout the colony amounts to 11,152. Taking the average price of each freehold lot to be 25*l.*, and the cost of erecting each cottage 60*l.*, which those acquainted with the colony will admit to be a low estimate, the total value will be found to fall but little short of a million sterling. As the immigrants and white inhabitants own but a very trifling portion of this description of property, it is not unreasonable to assign 10,000 of these village freeholds as belong-

ing to the native negro population; and as each house contains an average of five persons, the result is, that 50,000, or upwards of two-thirds of those whose services were looked upon at the period of emancipation as available for the future cultivation of the colony, now literally sit down beneath the shade of their own cocoa-nut and plantain-trees, in a state of perfect happiness, taking a long holiday. And who shall blame them? They have only been fortunate enough to obtain, with unexampled rapidity, that which their fellow-men, in every clime, are daily struggling to acquire, namely, the means of retiring with a competency."

It may be observed, that this anonymous writer's pamphlet is thoroughly imbued with the colonial spirit, for which reason what he says in favour of the Creole negroes is the more worthy of notice. His statistics of the number of freeholders are confirmed by the report of Mr. Harfield, Commissary of Population, who states, that the first conveyance of such lands occurred in 1838; that in 1844 the number of holders, including their families, amounted to about 19,000; in 1847 to 29,000, shewing an increase of 10,000 in the space of three years; and at the end of 1848, up to which period Mr. Harfield's report was made out, they numbered 44,443, occupying 446 freeholds, on which were 10,541 houses. Thus, from 1847 to 1848 there was the enormous addition of 15,440 to the class of native freeholders; so that the author of the pamphlet referred to may be regarded as speaking considerably within the mark in setting them down at only 50,000 in 1853.

Similar evidence of the material prosperity of the people of Jamaica might be quoted. The latest is contained in a pamphlet recently published by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, containing replies to a series of questions addressed by the Committee to their correspondents in the West Indies. A considerable majority of the labourers are said to be freeholders, or renters of properties, varying in extent from one acre to fifty, a hundred, and upwards, on which they grow sugar, coffee, and pimento. They supply the market with the former for inland consumption, and export no inconsiderable quantity. The old plantations being nearly worn out, the greater part of the coffee now exported is grown by them, and also a considerable portion of the pimento. The result is, that these leasees and small proprietors are becoming well-to-do middle-class men.

What has been said of Jamaica and British Guiana holds equally good of Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Vincent. In the latter island the small proprietors are the most extensive growers and manufacturers of arrow-root. In the report of the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanying the Blue Book for 1845, the small holders were set down at 158, their land varying in extent from eleven acres to patches not more than sixty feet square, obtained

by purchase at the rate of 20*l.* per acre. At this time there are not fewer than from 10,000 to 12,000 acres under cultivation in arrow-root, land either the property in fee of the labouring-classes, or rented by them at the rate of 3*l.* 5*s.* an acre. In St. Lucia the *metairie* system prevails, with equal advantage to both parties. In Antigua, according to the evidence of Dr. Davy—whose remarkable work on "The West Indies, before and since Emancipation," would seem to have entirely escaped the attention of those who maintain that emancipation has failed—the evidence as regards the material prosperity of the people is of a not less satisfactory kind. He states that three-fourths of the labourers have cottages of their own, generally near the estates on which they work, forming villages or hamlets, of which there are 87, all built since emancipation, and each possession a small freehold, the land attached seldom exceeding half an acre. They are described as having a pride in the erection and adornment of these dwellings, in the possession of property of their own, in striving to raise themselves in the ranks of social intercourse, and in promoting the welfare of their children. They have established friendly societies among themselves, with which 12,588 persons were connected in 1853, and were then availing themselves of a savings'-bank recently instituted.

If we pass on to Dominica, we find equally encouraging facts. The official reports of the stipendiary magistrate and of the officers administer the government for several years past, present incontrovertible evidence of the improved condition of the peasantry in every respect; and we have it on the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, in his despatches to Government, that "although, like most of the West-India colonies, Dominica has partaken of the general depression consequent upon the low prices of its staple products, yet industry has never been carried to a greater extent than at present, nor has the population ever been more contented and happy." It may be observed that this state of things is the more remarkable as there is no labour contract, and the nature of the country, and the extent of crown land unoccupied, hold out extraordinary inducements to squatting.

Assuming that enough has been said on this part of the subject, to disprove the wholesale allegations of idleness brought against the freed negroes, and to establish the fact of their material prosperity, let us briefly dwell on the charge that they are unwilling to work for wages.

It is undeniable that the question of the supply of labour in the West Indies is an extremely complicated one, and surrounded by peculiar difficulties. Nowhere else does such an abnormal condition of the labour-market exist. In non-slaveholding countries the price of labour is regulated—like that of every other commodity—by the law of supply and demand; and competition brings



wages to their level. But in the West Indies, their rate appears to be regulated by no recognised principle, but to be determined by an arbitrary standard, fixed by the planter, whose sole object is to obtain a continuous supply of labour at his own price. In the altered relations of the freed negroes, it is natural that they should seek to establish a standard of their own, regulated in some degree by the price of the staples their labour produces, the fluctuations of the labour-market, and the exigencies of their own position. Now, if the price offered them for their labour falls short of their estimate of its value, based upon a calculation of what they can make of their time by employing it on their own account, the planter must expect the labourer to decide the question according to the ordinary law of self-interest. Thus is it that, in our West-India colonies, the unprecedented spectacle is continually presented of the labourer competing for his own labour with the planter; and as he is, to a certain extent, independent of him, the latter has fallen back upon immigration, as a means of flooding the market with foreign labourers, and thereby reducing the rate of wages to his own standard; and he has devised the system of contract for continuous labour, as a substitute for the power he once possessed of commanding, or, rather, of coercing it. There is an accumulation of evidence, from all the colonies, to prove that the alleged dearth of labour there resolves itself into a mere question of an advance upon the present rate of wages; and the charge of an unwillingness to work for the planters brought against the freed negroes, into an indisposition, on the part of the former, to pay them a fair compensation for their services. It may be stated, as the result of the most careful and extensive inquiries, instituted throughout the colonies, that wherever labour in them is alleged to be deficient, the deficiency can be traced to causes within the control of the planters to remove; and of these, insufficient wages, unpunctual payment of the same, or no payment at all, are stated to be the chief. To cultivate the whole area of land lying waste in the colonies would, indeed, absorb any number of labourers; but there is overwhelming evidence to prove that no addition to their number is necessary to meet the demand for the estates actually under cultivation. Jamaica, as the least fortunately circumstanced of the colonies, may be quoted in illustration of this assertion. The total number of inhabitants, of every age, grade, and condition, corrected for natural increase on the census of 1844, may be said to be, in round numbers, 450,000. Dividing these into fifths, to ascertain the distribution of relative ages for work, we find 90,000 the calculation for a levy *en masse*, giving the number of effective male labourers; 90,000 the number of effective female labourers; 90,000 the non-effective and aged; 90,000 the young of both sexes under tutelage; and 90,000 the very

young, or infants. Then, admitting that the sugar exports for Jamaica are steadily 30,000 hogsheads annually, which are usually estimated as exhibiting 30,000 effective labourers consecutively employed in field tillage, estate cultivation is shewn to absorb scarcely one-sixth of the 180,000 of the male and female population effective for husbandry. Making now a liberal allowance for handicraft labour, and for commercial and other pursuits, out of this large number, and the obvious conclusion is, that the owners of plantations have very many more people ready to work for wages than they can employ. The application of this same rule to the other colonies—except Barbados, which stands in an exceptional position as regards population—will demonstrate that their labour-power is equally satisfactory.

In the letter already quoted, Governor Hincks has thrown a flood of light on the question at issue between the planters and the labourers. It is too lengthy to introduce, though it contains the most valuable facts and suggestions. But one part of it is so striking, and bears so closely on the general question, that it may be quoted in this place with advantage. He says:

"In the island, (Barbadoes,) there can be no doubt whatever that emancipation has been a great boon to all classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageous investment than in the time of Slavery; the estates are much better and more economically cultivated, and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. In other colonies, the proprietors have suffered from a variety of causes. It would be unjust to blame them for not having adopted a wiser policy towards the labouring classes. They, as a general rule, meant to act liberally, and, I have no doubt, believe that they have been treated with ingratitude. I am nevertheless convinced that the labouring classes have been blamed without cause. The tenure of land (a tenancy at will) on the estates has driven the labourers from them; they have purchased or leased land elsewhere, it being cheap and abundant, and there has not been an adequate inducement in the form of wages offered to them by the estates. The majority of the proprietors were overwhelmed with debt at the period of emancipation, the value of property had been much too high, and these causes, combined with the reduction of the price of sugar, has produced much individual distress. It has been a most serious evil, too, that so many West-India proprietors have been non-residents. The evil, however, will cure itself in time. Property has been changing hands of late, and eventually I have no doubt that the proprietors generally will live on their own estates, and save the heavy expense of management."

Let us now consider the charge of immorality, indifference to education, and disregard of reli-

gious duties, laid at the door of the freed negroes.

It may be noted, at the outset, as a somewhat suspicious circumstance, that those who are the loudest in bringing these accusations against the coloured population, belong to the very class which has set it the worst possible example in these respects. Morality, and a regard for education and religion, were not the distinguishing characteristics of colonial society, in the time of Slavery, and do not, to this day, constitute its most prominent features. The systematic violation by the governing classes of every commandment in the Decalogue, was not likely to improve the morals of a people already brutalized by Slavery, and sunk to the very lowest stage of human degradation, nor to inspire them with very definite ideas of religion; neither was it to be expected, that, without a prolonged effort, a community so thoroughly polluted and debased, could purify its manners from the corruption proverbially resulting from evil communications. But reasonable exception may also be taken to the standard by which it is attempted to measure the morality of the freed negroes; and a doubt may be expressed, whether, were the same severe test applied to communities that have been the most highly favoured with regard to educational facilities, and opportunities of religious instruction, the result would prove so satisfactory as to establish a point of favourable contrast. It must be borne in mind, that, in the colonies, vice of every kind, where it exists, lies more or less on the surface; that the ordinary restraints upon individual action are to a considerable extent removed; that even notorious laxity of morals is not only no bar to admission into society, but is not regarded as disgraceful; that every man's conduct and daily habits lie bare to the scrutiny of his neighbour, or of any one who is disposed to record them; consequently, violations of morality and religion, which in communities like our own would escape notice or become matters of fact to an extremely limited circle, assume in the colonies disproportionate dimensions, merely from the circumstance of their obtaining immediate and greater publicity. Then the coloured population is a special object of attention. Friends and enemies are ever watching it; the former with an anxiety rendered more sensitive from over-solicitude for its welfare, the latter with envy and jealousy. Whatever of good is reported by the former, the latter endeavour to qualify; and no fault, however trifling, no offence, however venial, escapes their lynx-eyed vigilance. Yet, what are the facts? The annual reports of the Governors, published by authority of Parliament—until within the last four years, since which time none have been issued to the public—shew that the largest proportion of commitments, embraced under the criminal returns, are for offences of an extremely trivial kind, many of

which would actually not be punishable in this country; that as regards attendance at places of public worship, the returns contrast favourably with those contained in the last census of the United Kingdom; and that, all circumstances considered, the attendance of children at the various public schools presents a highly encouraging feature in the present history of the colonies; for though the number is not so large as might be desired, it is to be accounted for by the fact, that children of tender years are sent out to work in the fields, the wages they earn, although small, operating as a temptation to their parents to employ them thus, in preference to sending them to school. The rate of attendance varies considerably in the different colonies, but the lowest estimate gives nine per cent., and the highest thirty-three per cent. Did space permit, we might descend from generalities to particulars; but this is not a statistical report, and we may therefore dismiss this important branch of our subject, by quoting the testimony of the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent, who, after a six years' experience in that island, and an extended acquaintance with the people of the other colonies, speaks thus of them:

"When we turn to the great body of the native population, it is beyond dispute that it has been the subject of progressive melioration, both moral and physical. In treating of the negro people, it must never be forgotten that a few years only have run their course since they were emancipated from a state absolutely opposed to all improvement, and, with this in view, I record not only my satisfaction, but a feeling of joyful surprise at the advances made by them during the six years to which my observation and experience have extended. As a general rule, they possess, beyond all reasonable question, most of the essential elements of progress, and, in a pre-eminent degree, natural intelligence and quickness of perception, sharpened by a praiseworthy desire to better their condition, somewhat controlled in action, indeed, by the indolence incident to a tropical climate, by the facilities for acquiring a comfortable subsistence, and by dilatory habits thereupon accruing."

The last charge against emancipation—that it has ruined West-India properties—would be unworthy of notice, did it not constitute also the last argument employed, when all others have been disposed of, to bring that memorable act into disrepute. Yet it is notorious, that years before Slavery was abolished, West-India estates were rapidly going out of cultivation, owing to the impossibility on the part of their owners to pay up the mortgage charges upon them. So far back as 1792, even before the abolition of the slave-trade, which replenished the labouring population as fast as over-work killed it off, and when a continuous supply of labour might be supposed to have placed at the command of



planters the elements of that very kind of prosperity we hear so much about—in 1792, the Jamaica House of Assembly reported, that “in the course of twenty years, 177 estates had been sold in the island, for payment of debts, and 80,121 executions, amounting to 22,568,786*l.* sterling, had been lodged in the office of the Provost-Marshal.” Again, in 1805, another report of the Assembly ends a vivid picture of distress, with the statement, that “a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature;” and though, for the five or six years preceding 1807—the year when the slave-trade was abolished—the island exported more sugar than it ever had done, or has since, yet we find the same body declaring, that, even within that period, “sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of the Court of Chancery, and there were a hundred and fifteen more respecting which suits in Chancery were pending, with many more preparing.” Yet this was during a period when the colonists not only enjoyed a monopoly of the home-market, but the privilege of bounties on their surplus produce, amounting to upwards of a million sterling annually.

Another fact, equally notorious, is, that a large number of estates that remained under cultivation were returning no profits, and were indeed unfit for culture, but they were supported by the mortgagees so long as there was value in the slaves as goods and chattels. As soon, however, as that consideration was removed by the freedom of the slaves, the mortgagees, not having sufficient material guarantee for further advances, withheld them, and, in consequence, those properties which were so dependent upon this factitious aid, were abandoned, being unprofitable and unfit to be kept up, though perhaps they had never been cultivated profitably at any previous period. Hence the constant cry of West-India distress during the palmy days of Slavery, and which found another voice in 1831, five years before emancipation, when the West-India proprietary again addressed Parliament, pleading “that the alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole British West-India interest is at this time involved, justifies them in imploring prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.”

What becomes, then, of the allegation that emancipation has ruined the West Indies generally, and Jamaica in particular? If any doubt is entertained that the ruin and abandonment of properties were the natural effect of Slavery, we have only to turn our eyes towards the Dutch colony of Surinam, to find the very same state of things taking place, under our own immediate observation. Out of 917 plantations in that colony, 636 have been totally abandoned up to this time; 65 of the remainder grow only

provisions and wood; and the 216 that are left produce coffee, sugar, cocoa, and spice, but are so heavily mortgaged, that unless emancipation be declared within a comparatively short period, they must share the fate of the others.

We have adverted to this last charge against emancipation, lest the passing of it over might give rise to the notion that it could not be disposed of. We do, however, distinctly and positively refuse to admit that the results of emancipation are to be judged of by any commercial standard whatever. The question is essentially a moral one, and is to be discussed according to the principles of morality. The depreciation of properties—even, though it could be traced to emancipation—is as nothing compared with the depreciation of humanity; and it were even better a few individuals were ruined, than that an entire community should be steeped in the misery of a hopeless bondage. So far from emancipation having proved the ruin of our West-India colonies, it has rescued them from it; and it is a hopeful sign to find the people standing out for their rights, as labourers, to the full and legitimate reward of their toil; nor, having achieved independence, can they be blamed for enjoying it, and demonstrating that they feel man was not made for sugar-boiling alone, and that the daily use of the hoe and the shovel is not absolutely essential to human happiness.

It must not, however, be supposed, that even on the low grounds of commercial expediency, emancipation cannot be justified. That, on the whole, there has been a considerable reduction in the exports from some of our West-India colonies, since they ceased to be cultivated by slave-labour, is undeniable; but what is true of them as a whole is not so of all of them, taken severally. Barbados has this year produced 53,000 hogsheds of sugar, being considerably more than double the quantity she exported during Slavery. In Antigua, again, production has not diminished. In the five years previous to emancipation the exports reached 64,277 hogsheds of sugar, 3695 puncheons of rum, and 37,656 puncheons of molasses. In the five years 1850 to 1854 the figures stand thus: 64,447 hogsheds of sugar, 3237 puncheons of rum, and 37,284 puncheons of molasses, while for the years 1855 to 1856, or only two-fifths of the above period, the production has been very nearly equal to the half of the preceding quinquennial exports. What does the editor of the *Antigua Observer* of the 4th of March last say, commenting on the official returns of the exports of the island?

“Thus, ‘he observes,’ not only do the years of freedom shew an increase in the amount of our exports, but this increase has been steadily obtained, even under a diminished rate of wages, which took place after the admission of slave-made sugars on equal terms into the British market. Our opinion is, that had that measure

of imperial policy preceded by a dozen years or so the Act of Emancipation, the British colonies could never have withstood the shock, seeing that with all the advantages of protection, under the slave-system, the day that enfranchised the negro disclosed almost generally a condition of insolvency among the proprietary body, which had existed even in the palmy days now, by the enemies of freedom, adverted to."

If we pass to St. Kitt's and British Guiana, we also find an augmentation of production; and even in Jamaica, where it has on the whole diminished, the estates in actual work are yielding much larger crops than at any time during Slavery. Diminished exports from this colony are the natural consequence of the abandonment of estates already referred to; but as it has been established that this abandonment was the direct result of the state of things during Slavery, none but the most wilfully perverse can still continue to attribute the fact to emancipation.

On the comparative cost of free and slave-labour, facts might be adduced, in almost any number, shewing that little difference of opinion prevails as to the greater cheapness of the former. On this point, again, Governor Hincks furnishes some most important information. These are the conclusions at which he arrives:

"The fairest test, perhaps, of the comparative cost of slave and free-labour, is to compare the wages paid to the free-labourer with the rate demanded by those who let out slaves to hire. The owners of slaves in Cuba are in the habit of hiring them in gangs, and I understand that the rate some years ago, when sugar was much lower in price, was seventeen dollars a month, which, allowing twenty-six working days, would be sixty-five cents a day, a rate far exceeding the price of labour in any of the British colonies.

\* \* \* I have been told that the average cost in Cuba, of maintaining a slave, is thirty dollars per annum; and if so, there can be no doubt that this, added to the interest on the value of the slave, would bring up the cost of labour to a much higher price than that given for free-labour in any of the British colonies. I need scarcely remind you that the cost per head of slaves must be calculated on the entire population of men, women, and children, a considerable per centage of which will furnish no labour in return."

But however important this inquiry, and however desirable to prove the superiority in every respect of free over slave-labour, it is one upon which we have no space to enter. Nevertheless it would form a highly interesting subject of research for this section of the Association to undertake. It may be observed, in conclusion, that emancipation has been severely tested, and has not been found wanting. Its results are of the first importance, not only as bearing upon the progress of our colonies, and upon the question of

the abolition of slavery wherever that odious institution exists, but upon that of labour generally. Man was not born to be idle. There was a blessing in the curse which made labour his lot. Slavery takes it away. As a system, it brings labour into disrepute. It degrades it by abasing the labourer, and thereby his class. It stamps him with a distinctive mark; and though in his own country it does not disgrace him, let him but emigrate to lands where his energies are in request, but where Slavery exists, or to which its contamination has extended, and he at once finds himself thrust outside of the pale of society. The abolition of Slavery, therefore, becomes a working man's question, as well as a philanthropist's, and its justification is of equal moment to both. Labour is the corner-stone of the whole social system, the key-stone of the science of social economy. Disturb the conditions of its existence, and the whole fabric of society is undermined. To vindicate the dignity of labour, not less than the right of man to the liberty God has given him, is the object of this essay.

LORD BROUGHAM said the question was not entirely settled at the present day, for what the paper had alluded to as a call for immigration, raised, naturally enough, the question of emigration, by which it was thought—not in our own colonies, but in some foreign colonies—to supply the want of labour by what was called emigration from the coast of Africa; but it turned out that the emigration consisted of men who were kidnapped and taken on board ship in manacles, or who were put in manacles before they had been twenty-four hours on board the vessel. That was called free emigration. The paper, he regretted, did not dwell upon the substitute in the encouragement to the not only innocent but praiseworthy trade in the west of Africa, which had been constantly increasing for years past, since the abolition of the greater portion of the traffic. He had every reason to hope that the good sense of the Government—the French Government as well as other Governments of the present day—would put an end to that speculation in men, for he could call it nothing else, which had been lately attempted, but which he trusted had very generally failed. His lordship contended that the planter with free-labour was a great sufferer by the admission of the Spanish slave-grown sugar upon the same terms as regarded duty with our own free-grown sugar. It was not the natural increase of Cuban population, and the consequently natural increase of production, of which the complaint is made: but the constant importation of slaves from the African coast, which caused the free-grower to be undersold in the market, by the unnatural stimulus which the slave-traffic gives to production. It gave him very great satisfaction to state, that by a late communication that had been received from Dr. Livingstone, on the east coast of Africa, it appeared that there was every reason to suppose that a great supply of cotton—the article now so very much in demand, and respecting which so considerable alarm lately



prevailed, particularly at Manchester—there was every probability that the demand could be supplied from the coast of Africa. His Right Rev. friend, the Bishop of Oxford, had been kind enough to communicate to him (Lord Brougham) a letter which he had just received from Dr. Livingstone, from which two things appeared, both highly satisfactory. One was, that great indignation is expressed by the natives of that coast against the Portuguese Government for allowing the native princes to traffic in slaves. Those princes did not join, of course, in the indignation; but the poor negroes, the people, generally and strongly joined in it; and Dr. Livingstone and the men who were with him, being supposed to be connected with the Portuguese, at first found a very cold and even hostile reception; but the joy of the people was indescribable when the men declared that they were not Portuguese, but English, and enemies to the slave-trade, which the Portuguese had been to a certain degree justly charged with upholding. Another fact was, that they found up the river, and on both sides, a most general, easy, and economical cultivation of cotton, the soil and the climate appearing to be both singularly adapted to its production. No doubt whatever existed, that, with very little encouragement, and a very little addition to their means in point of machinery, cotton might be largely and profitably cultivated, and that the habits of the people were strongly in favour of it, the negroes having already largely—largely at least, according to their means—engaged in the cultivation. In conclusion his lordship, who appeared very greatly moved, said, I cannot name my right Rev. friend, Bishop Wilberforce, without adding that his is a name which must ever awaken in my bosom emotions in which veneration, love, and affection strive for the mastery; and it is most pleasing to me to be able to say so in this town of Liverpool, when I recollect that forty-six years ago, during the great contest of 1812, one of the appeals that were made to the people by certain parties, favouring my adversaries, and united \* against me upon that occasion, was the placarding of the words that I had used in the House of Commons the session before, declaring the slave-traffic to be not a trade, but a felony. That was held at the time to be a judicious and useful squib, as it were, against a candidate, that he had dared to lift his voice in the House of Commons as against that part, at least, of the trade of the borough of Liverpool. I do not believe there is to be found in all the town of Liverpool one single individual at the present day who would promote such an attack and use the topics connected with it.

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\* Lord Brougham always asserted that nothing could be more unjust, than to suppose that Mr. Canning and his respectable supporters favoured such an attack, he having always been a most zealous abolitionist, and brought forward a motion during Mr. Addington's administration, hostile to the Government, and in favour of abolition, to which Mr. Addington was adverse.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1858.

### EMANCIPATION AND THE WEST INDIES.

IN the immediately foregoing part of our present Number, will be found the text of the paper on the results of Emancipation, read by our Secretary, at one of the sectional meetings of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held last month at Liverpool. Towards the conclusion the following words occur:

"The question is essentially a moral one, and is to be discussed according to the principle of morality. The depreciation of properties, even though it could be traced to Emancipation, is as nothing compared with the depreciation of humanity; and it were even better a few individuals were ruined, than that an entire community should be steeped in the misery of a hopeless bondage."

Mr. Stephen Cave, the Chairman of the *West-India Committee*, alleges, in a letter addressed to the *Times*—which we reprint—that the Secretary, speaking for the Society, said: "This is a low commercial argument. Let the West Indian be ruined, the great principle is established." Another writer, signing himself "A West Indian," but whose letter we defer publishing, adopts Mr. Cave's allegation, but adds that "the sentiment was toasted and cheered." It was scarcely worth while to rebut Mr. Cave's accusation, because there were points in his communication to the *Times*, which it was of far more importance to refute. If we now call attention to it, we do so from a desire to remove from the minds of our friends any false impression they may have derived from his assertion that we uttered a sentiment which would bear the construction of harshness; while with reference to the remark of a "West Indian" we have only to observe that he is mistaken in supposing that the sentiment—erroneously attributed to the Secretary by Mr. Cave—was "quaffed." We have reproduced the text of the remarks which have been so misconstrued, and leave the explanation to the judgement of the candid reader.

Mr. Cave's letter to the *Times*, however, opens a discussion we rejoice to have an opportunity of pursuing. It will probably be the means of eliciting information from various sources, and if the *Times* be only guided in its judgment by the logic of facts, we may hope—perhaps against hope—to see its influence ultimately enlisted on our side. The subject touches too nearly the question of Emancipation, for us to leave our friends in ignorance of the correspondence which has already taken place and we therefore refer them to it.

MR. CAVE'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES" OF THE  
10TH OCT.

Sir,—The Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society* read to-day, at the meeting of the *Social Science Association*, an able paper on the effect of emancipation on the West-India Colonies, with much of which I entirely agree. Owing, however, probably to a theoretical rather than a practical knowledge of the subject, the writer fell into some errors, which I intended to point out during the usual discussion; but, in consequence of a call from another section, Lord Brougham, who had presided, left the room suddenly, a fresh paper was taken, and no opportunity occurred. Should you think fit to admit these remarks they will no doubt be seen by all who heard the paper.

"The writer undertook to prove that slave-labour is dearer than free, and to this end compared the price paid for gangs let out for hire in Cuba with the wages of the Jamaica negro, stating correctly that allowance must also be made for non-effective slaves, for the interest of money, &c., but omitting to mention, that in Jamaica the negro seldom works more than six hours a-day for four days a-week, and that he takes in August and at Christmas holidays varying from a fortnight to six weeks; while the Cuba slave toils frequently for eighteen hours a day and for seven days in the week during the whole year. This materially alters the calculation. It is this want of continuous regular labour, fully as much as a high rate of wages, which forces the planter to seek for labourers under contract, just as people do here when they wish to have work finished in a certain time.

"This is the explanation of the call for immigrants, not (what I cannot help calling the absurd fiction) that the large body of shrewd Englishmen and Scotchmen who now own and reside on so many West-India estates, should from mere caprice import Indians at a heavy expense, and send them back in a few years with their pockets full of money, rather than pay fair wages to the native peasantry around them.

"The paper went on to state that there have always been cries of distress in Jamaica, arising from extravagance and so forth.

"True, but estates then passed into other hands, and never before was the spectacle presented of so much of that splendid island lying utterly waste that the crop had fallen from 90,000 to 19,000 tons.

"With the Society's objections to the Act of 1846 West Indians are not likely to find fault, but, if free is much cheaper than slave-labour, that Act would be inoperative, because surely, *ceteris paribus*, English enterprise would drive the Spaniard out of the market.

"But lastly, says the Society, 'this is a low commercial argument. Let the West Indian be ruined, the great principle is established.' The sentiment was cheered, and the West Indian, no doubt, ought to be much honoured by the sacrifice; but let us pause a little. Are not planter and principle sacrificed together? Did England say, 'We will only have free-labour sugar; if you cannot make it we will forego the sweets, and you must forego the profits,' the sentence might be hard, but it would be just and equal. But

England says, 'You shall not have slaves (and till lately she has said, You shall not have immigrants), but we will not have an ounce less sugar: we will, in fact, consume more every year.' Hence the unprecedented quantity of Cuba sugar, the produce of murder, as Lord Brougham truly said to-day, which has this year poured into our markets' Hence, notwithstanding the *Anti-Slavery Society's* song of triumph, the sorry figure England makes in the eyes of slaveowning nations; and hence the material condition of the West Indies is the test of the success or failure of emancipation.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"STEPHEN CAVE,

"Chairman of the West-India Committee.  
"St. George's Hall, Liverpool, Oct. 14."

The following rejoinder appeared in the *Times* of the 23rd:

"SIR,—Although the columns of your journal are not a convenient medium for discussing the question of the results of emancipation, I would solicit permission to answer the letter on this subject which Mr. Stephen Cave has addressed to you. I will be as brief as possible.

"I regret, as much as Mr. Cave appears to do, that, after my paper had been read at the sectional meeting of the *Social Science Association* on Thursday last, the opportunity was not afforded of exchanging opinions on those points to which he takes exception, for I am persuaded that the cause it is my privilege to advocate, had every thing to gain from a discussion which was likely to elicit from the chairman of the West-India Committee, the specific objections to emancipation which that body entertains. Now, although Mr. Cave and his friends do not regard the question at issue from the same point of view as Abolitionists do, we are not disinclined to meet the former on their own ground, and to subject emancipation to the test of commercial expediency. It must, however, be always borne in mind that we place the moral argument above every other consideration.

"Mr. Cave adduces the diminished exports of Jamaica as a proof of the failure of emancipation. But wherefore single out an island which stands in an exceptional position? The reduction of its exports is a natural consequence of the abandonment of the 300 estates which have gone out of cultivation since Slavery was abolished. The causes of their abandonment, however, were in operation long before, and were notoriously independent of that Act. Equally notorious is it that those actually under cultivation produce much more, with less labour and at less cost, than under the old system. Is Mr. Cave prepared to disprove this?

"If Slavery gives the West-India planter what he requires to cultivate at a profit, how is it that in the Dutch colony of Surinam, where there are 40,000 slaves, only 216 estates remain under culture out of 907? that the relinquishment of these has become only a question of time? and that the imminent ruin with which the proprietors are threatened is one of the principal reasons which are hurrying forward the question of emancipation in Holland?

"As Mr. Cave cites Jamaica to illustrate his



argument that diminished production has resulted from emancipation, I may be permitted to refer to Barbados, which has this year produced 53,000 hogsheads of sugar, considerably more than double her production under Slavery; or to Trinidad, Antigua, and St. Kitt's, which have not diminished their crops; or to British Guiana, which has greatly increased them; as proving the direct contrary. So true is it, Sir, that what may be correct with regard to Jamaica is not so of the West Indies, as a whole, for diminished production in some has been compensated for by augmented production in the rest.

"Let us now test Mr. Cave's correction of the statement that slave-labour is dearer than free-labour.

"The fairest test of the relative value of each is to compare the rate of wages paid to the free-labourer with that demanded by slaveowners who let out slaves on hire. Some years ago, when sugar was much lower in price, gangs of slaves were hired out in Cuba at the rate of 17 dollars a-month, exclusive of their food. At an average of 26 working days to the month, this would bring the day's wages alone to 65 cents., or, say, 2s. 9d. The average cost of maintaining a slave in Cuba is 30 dollars, or 6l. a-year, or at the rate of 4d. a-day by the month of 30 days. Thus the actual rate of wages for a hired slave in that island would be 3s. 1d. At the present time, however, slave-labour there is fetching from 20 dollars to 25 dollars a-month of 26 working days. Adopting a mean of 22 dollars, we get within a fraction of 3s. 5d. a-day for wages, brought up by the addition of 4d. for the cost of maintenance to 3s. 9d.

"Now, the rate of wages throughout the West Indies varies from 6d. a-day to 1s. 4d. for adults; 1s. may therefore be set down as a fair average rate. I leave the fact to speak for itself. 'But there is the continuity of slave-labour,' Mr. Cave will object. Well, even admitting that the Cuban slave works eighteen hours a-day for six days in the week throughout the year, and the freed negro only four, it is a recognised fact that in six hours the latter gets through as much work as the slave in twelve. It is clear, therefore, that the freed negro does for 1s. what costs the slaveowner 2s. 6d., or, in other words, that he will do in nine hours for 1s. 6d. as much work as a slave in eighteen, and as costs the slaveowner 3s. 9d., besides eighteen hours' supervision to see it done.

"However startling this assertion may appear, I am prepared to substantiate it. Thus Mr. Cave's correction of my calculation, so far from upsetting it, proves that the Cuban slaveowner is actually paying 22s. 6d. for 108 hours' work, the equivalent of which, accomplished in 54 hours, the employer of free-labour in our colonies expects to command for 9s. I do, therefore, assert emphatically that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour; that more and better work is done by the freed negro, under the stimulus of fair wages, than the whip can force the slave to perform in double the time; and that were the rate of wages in the West Indies regulated by the same law that determines it in other free countries—that of supply and demand—and by the market price of produce, the planters would find no difficulty in

obtaining as much labour as they require. I do not assert this on my own authority, for I readily admit that—as Mr. Cave says—my knowledge is only theoretical; but I make the statement on the evidence of men who lay claim to as extensive a practical acquaintance with the West Indies as Mr. Cave has, and whose experience gives them a right to be equally authoritative.

"Mr. Cave alleges that it is 'this want of continuous regular labour, fully as much as a high rate of wages, which forces the planter to seek for labourers under contract.' 'Continuous regular labour' is rather a loose expression. Will Mr. Cave specify what number of hours per day, and of days per week, he considers necessary to constitute 'continuous regular labour,' and what rate of wages it ought to command? He surely cannot mean that the planter wishes the labourer—Creole or immigrant—to toil for eighteen hours a-day during the seven days of the week. Yet his remarks lead to no other conclusion. A categorical reply from him would remove a very awkward doubt.

"Mr. Cave deals tenderly with his clients in offering his very peculiar explanation of what he styles 'the call for immigrants.' But he is scarcely candid. The secret of it is, that those who raise this cry have not to sustain the entire cost of satisfying it, or we should hear another tale. It is, of course, remarkably convenient for the planters to be able to import labour which is, to a considerable extent, paid for out of the public purse, the chief contributors being the Creole labourers, who form the bulk of the population, and who consume the larger proportion of the commodities imported, which are taxed for immigration purposes; but, as a result, the sum of 300,000l. out of 500,000l., the amount of the public debt with which Jamaica is now saddled, has been incurred for immigration; and last year there was a balance against the exchequer of British Guiana of 144,808 dollars, nearly 29,000l. sterling, also on immigration account, exclusive of the cost of justices, gaols, and hospitals, and various other items thereunto appertaining. Pretty well this for one year, and for 2457 coolies who remained out of the 2596 that arrived.

"If there is to be 'immigration'—which, however, I have evidence to justify me in affirming is unnecessary—let the planters who cry out for this kind of labour be compelled to sustain the entire cost of it; and let the colonies which are saddled with an immigration debt be relieved of it by shifting the burden upon the shoulders of those who have profited by the expenditure. Were this done there would be no 'call for immigrants.'

"The reason, Sir, that the Cuban slaveowner, with his dear slave-labour, can compete with our West-India proprietary, with their cheap free-labour, is not the one Mr. Cave has given. First, the slave-trade supplies the Cuban planter with a continuous stream of fresh hands; secondly, land in Cuba is abundant and cheap, and fresh tracts are being constantly broken up and planted with cane; thirdly, the soil is virgin, and ratooning can be carried on for many years with very little labour, hence a productiveness which has no parallel in any of our colonies; and, lastly, the Cuban planter has availed himself of

those improved processes for the manufacture of his staple which science has placed at his command, but which, from some cause, our West-India proprietary have not, as a rule, adopted. These, Sir, are the facts which explain the successful competition of the Cuban slave-owner. I may add, with confidence, on the authority of his Excellency Governor Hincks, of Barbados, that many who at one time held the opinion that the increased productiveness of Cuba was mainly attributable to the cheapness of slave-labour have long since discovered their error. I will venture to express the fervent hope that Mr. Cave and his clients may ere long become converts to the same wholesome opinion; and

"I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

"Anti-Slavery Office,

"27, New Broad Street, Oct. 20."

The view which, at the outset, the *Times* takes of this controversy is as fair as could be expected in a journal which has so recently taken sides against the advocates of Abolition, and employed its great influence to circulate statements depreciatory of their efforts, and of the people whom emancipation rescued from the most cruel of oppressions. In the leader we append, which appeared on the same day as the above reply, very little of the bitter spirit of its former articles is apparent, and we trust we may hail this fact as a symptom of one of those changes of opinion for which this journal has a reputation, and of which, in other public questions, it has afforded so many notable examples.

(From the *Times* of the 23rd of Oct.)

"The subject of Slavery ought to be understood in our day. Different people may take different views of the facts, and of the consequences to be deduced from them; but, at least, the facts—that is to say, the *data* of the Slavery discussions—should have been long since ascertained and established. Upon some leading points, indeed, we in England are agreed; but this agreement of opinion is confined to the limits of the four seas. In the United States the battle as yet is one of first principles. The French Government, for a long time past, has been endeavouring to renew, under another name, the practice which has been long since condemned by the public opinion of the country. Spain, bound by endless treaty engagements to aid in the repression of the slave-trade, is, in point of fact, the great supporter of the system. Now, in England, we say that the slave-trade shall no longer be permitted to exist in any quarter of the globe, if, by negotiation or by arms, it can be repressed. Slavery shall not exist in our own dominions—that is a municipal matter, entirely within our own control; but the slave-trade shall not be carried on anywhere if we can put it down. In the case of the United States, indeed, we are compelled to content ourselves with the assurance that the American cruisers will do the work. Will any one, however, say that it is not mainly to the ceaseless exertions—to the philanthropic energy—to the entreaties—to the persuasion of this

country, that the Anti-Slavery party in the States owes its strength? Blot out England, and English sympathies, and English power from the map of the world, and the battle between the North and the South would be fought on the other side of the Atlantic on very different terms. So far, then, as this, Englishmen are at one with each other on this question—Slavery shall not be in our own dominions, nor the slave-trade anywhere, if we can help it. Could we have gone one step further, and annihilated the 'peculiar institution' in all other countries as well as in our own, the problem would, in the main, have speedily received a satisfactory solution. This, however, was beyond our power, and, consequently, we find ourselves in this anomaly—the parent of many anomalies—that we, without a slave population, must compete in the markets of the world with other countries which have slave populations, and that with respect to tropical produce. We are not now about to discuss the policy of the Free-trade Sugar Act: we merely notice it as a feature in our statement, in order that we may say that England has taken high ground indeed upon the question. She has said, that naked and alone, without differential duties or custom-house mechanism of any kind to back her in the struggle, she will stand the brunt of the fight, and wage the battle of free-labour *versus* slave-labour against all the world. Under these circumstances it is necessary to consider if the contest be a possible one under existing arrangements; if not, how can it be made so without tampering with that great principle which has now become incorporated with the national existence of the Three Kingdoms.

"In the first place, then, are the black emancipated populations of the various sugar islands willing and able to do the work required by the necessities of tropical agriculture in those regions? One would think that this point at least ought to have been ascertained by this time. The vast preponderance of testimony would lead us to a negative conclusion; but there are not wanting authorities, such as they are, on the other side. If the opinions of the planters are to go for any thing, there can be no doubt that their voices are decisive for labour, and more labour. 'From China, from India, or a free immigration from Africa, in any shape give us more labour, or we perish.' Such is their cry. Now, these gentlemen ought to be competent judges of their own interests; at least so far their testimony should be good. This, however, is denied, and their opponents endeavour to shew that free black-labour is cheaper than slave-labour. This is a very turning point in the discussion, and we therefore select it as an illustration of the differences of opinion which still exist upon the very facts connected with Slavery. Which, then, is cheaper—free or slave-labour? Mr. Stephen Cave, the Chairman of the West-India Committee, a day or two back addressed a letter to this journal, in which he explained his views as opposed to certain conclusions contained in a paper which had lately been read at the meeting of the Social Science Association by the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. The writer of this paper had undertaken to prove that slave-labour was dearer than free. He compared



the price paid for gangs let out to hire in Cuba with the wages of the Jamaica negro, and after all due allowances, arrived at the conclusion that economy, as well as humanity, was on the side of freedom. Mr. Cave, however, called attention to the fact, that in Jamaica the negro will seldom work more than six hours a-day, and that for four days in the week. 'The Cuban slave,' he adds, 'toils frequently for eighteen hours a-day; and for seven days in the week, during the whole year.' Hence, Mr. Cave concludes, the call for immigrants. Now, upon this very point he is met by a gentleman who has stated his views in a letter which will be found in another portion of our columns this day. Observe, the question is a capital one; for if it can be shewn that the sugar islands can be cultivated with advantage by their free black population, *cædit quæstio*—the problem is solved. The Imperial Government need not trouble itself in any way to repair the shortcomings, or give bounties, at the expense of the taxpayers, either at home or in the Antilles, to assist the unthrift of men who will not help themselves. Mr. Chamerovzow, who writes from the Anti-Slavery-office, denies, in the first place, that Jamaica can be said to be a fair sample of a West-India island under the new system. Mr. Cave had asserted that so large a portion of Jamaica was lying waste that its yield had fallen from 90,000 to 19,000 tons. His opponent admits the fact, but attributes this reduction in exports to the abandonment of the 300 estates which have gone out of cultivation since Slavery was abolished. This is to admit a great deal; but, then, did the abandonment of these estates depend upon the abolition of slavery, or upon other causes quite independent of this change? Very few persons who have had the misfortune to be mixed up with West-India property will be inclined to adopt Mr. Chamerovzow's conclusion. As an opposite instance to that of Jamaica he quotes the case of Barbados. This island, he tells us, has this year produced 53,000 hogsheads of sugar—more than double her production under slavery; those of Trinidad, Antigua, and St. Kitt's, which have not experienced any falling off in their crops; that of British Guiana, which has increased them. In corroboration of his argument, and as an example of results where slavery has been maintained, he points to the Dutch colony of Surinam, in which there are 40,000 slaves, and yet in this colony out of 907 estates only 216 remain in culture.

"Now how will Mr. Cave and his friends dispose of these facts—presuming that the facts are as stated? How much of this alleged prosperity is due to free black labour? What is the financial condition of the planters who have made these great efforts? How do they stand against their rivals in the markets of the world? Another correspondent, who signs himself 'A West Indian,' has written us a letter, which we also publish to-day. He represents the island of St. Vincent's, and the burden of his statement is, that he and his fellows are engaged in a life-and-death struggle to bring back prosperity where desolation now reigns supreme. To this end they have at their disposal a fund sufficient to import 2000 African labourers to-morrow, if the British Government will leave them to themselves. The

obvious conclusion to be drawn from this letter is, that, in the writer's opinion, the experiment of indigenous free black labour in the island of St. Vincent's has hopelessly broken down. A point in Mr. Chamerovzow's letter which is well worthy of notice is the comparison which he institutes between the money cost of free and slave-labour. The result of calculations, which it is needless to repeat here, as they will be found in the letter which we publish, is this: 'It is clear that the freed negro does for 1s. what costs the slaveowner 2s. 6d.; or, in other words, that he will do in nine hours for 1s. 6d. as much work as a slave in eighteen, and as costs the slaveowner, 3s. 9d., besides eighteen hours' supervision to see done.' Now, we shall be very curious to see how far these assertions will stand the test of public discussion. Of course, if they be true, there is an end of all argument. We may even cease to deplore overmuch the temporary ascendancy of Cuban sugar in the markets, for in the long run the Cuban growers will never be able to compete with the West-India planter, who possesses such peculiar advantages in the possession of free black-labour. It would be of great service to the formation of public opinion if any one well acquainted with the subject would give us the history of a hogshead of sugar grown in Cuba and of another grown in Jamaica. Which is in the right, the *Anti-Slavery Society*, or the West-India Committee, upon this peculiar point, the relative money cost of free as against slave-labour in the West India Islands?"

#### JAMAICA.

By Lord Brougham's kind permission we are enabled to publish the following highly interesting letter, recently addressed to him from Jamaica, by a Missionary of many years' standing in that island. Comment on our part would be superfluous. The facts which Lord Brougham's correspondent communicates are sufficiently eloquent to tell their own tale.

"MY LORD,—I cannot deny myself the privilege of addressing your Lordship, to express my heartfelt thanks, and those of thousands in this island, for your Lordship's disinterested and successful efforts to procure the disallowance of the Immigration Law, passed by the Legislature of this Colony. You have thereby saved our labouring population from injustice, and saved the lives of thousands of Coolies and Chinese, and, I may add, notwithstanding these disappointments, many of our planters from ruin.

"It is the intention, I understand, of the authorities, to introduce another Bill in the next session of the Legislature. In order to obtain the assent of the Home Government, it will doubtless be divested of some of the most obnoxious features of its predecessor, but, if we may judge from past experience, it will prove a curse, and not a blessing, to the island.

"I have made many efforts, but in vain, to obtain official returns of the mortality of the immigrants imported during the last eight years; but in 1850 the Agent-General of Immigration

reported that one half of the Coolies imported five years previously were dead, and there is every reason to fear that subsequent importations have suffered as severely, to say nothing of the mortality on ship-board in coming from and returning to India and China.

"May I therefore be permitted to suggest to your Lordship the importance of pressing the Government to order an inquiry into the results of immigration to Jamaica, and to issue a commission to ascertain whether additional labour is really required. There can be no doubt that in many districts the supply exceeds the demand; and I believe there are few parts of the island where the supply is not equal to the demand, except it may be during a very small portion of the year, when the inducement of additional wages—less than the cost of immigrant labour—would equalize them.

"I do not think it would be beyond the province of Government to institute another inquiry as to whether emancipation has succeeded or not. The people of England having paid 20,000,000*l* to secure the freedom of the slaves, it seems but right that they should know whether their money has been well spent. The inquiry, if well and impartially conducted, would, I am persuaded, demonstrate that emancipation has been a great success; and it would shew to America and other countries that it is not only safe but expedient to "undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free."

"It may not be uninteresting to your Lordship to have a brief account of the state of the enfranchised population in the neighbourhood.

"Twenty-eight years ago the whole of this part of the island, so far as the slave population were concerned, was in heathenish darkness. Missionary operations were commenced here in 1830; but early in 1832 the chapel was destroyed, and the Missionary driven away. On the passing of the Emancipation Act, the station was recommenced, and in 1835 I was privileged to commence my labours here to a congregation of nearly 1000 black people, then in that state of semi-slavery called the apprenticeship. People, however, crowded to hear the Gospel preached from a distance of twenty miles and more, so that five separate Mission stations were in the course of a few years formed, at all of which chapels were built and schools instituted. Two of these stations remain under my own care, but native pastors are settled over the others. At present I have about 3000 people under my care, who, with few exceptions, were once in slavery, or are the children of former slaves. We have five day-schools in operation, containing upwards of 300 children, and three Sabbath-schools, with nearly 3000 scholars. About 5000 copies of the Scriptures have been sold, and nearly 2000 given away monthly to those who have learnt to read.

"Four thousand pounds have been raised from the people themselves for building chapels and school-houses. For eighteen years they have supported me, and contributed to support other agency, and have raised considerable sums towards sending the people to Africa. During the last ten years, however, these means have been lessened, and it has not been without great diffi-

culty that I have been enabled to keep up the schools; and had it not been for the kind aid of friends at home they must have been closed. The conduct of those who are connected with the churches, with such exceptions as are found at home, has been all that could be expected; but I need scarcely say that there are large numbers who seldom attend Christian worship, and whose conduct is far from being what could be desired. But we are labouring for their good, and believe that God will graciously please our efforts.

"The progress of a large number of the peasantry has been wonderful. Thousands in this neighbourhood have got neat cottages of their own, and cultivate their little freeholds of from one to four or five acres, a few have got ten and twenty acres, and some even more.

"The emancipated population of this and other islands owe your Lordship a debt of gratitude they can never repay. Your name will, I doubt not, be handed down to a grateful posterity. From my earliest childhood your Lordship's name has been familiar to me, and with the deepest interest I have noted your efforts to promote the welfare of man; and now it is my earnest prayer that our gracious God and Father may cause the light of His countenance to shine upon you, to cheer your declining years, and that, washed in the Redeemer's blood, and sanctified by His Spirit, your Lordship may be prepared for the bliss of heaven.

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#### THE FRENCH SLAVE-TRADE.

If any doubt could have existed on the real character of the French immigration scheme, which we have from the first designated as only another name for the slave-trade, such doubt ought to have been removed by the revelations incidental to the case of the *Regina Cæli*. But the impression produced by this flagrant case has not had time to die away before another presents itself, which must, we should think, convince the most dubious that the French Government is not only bent upon carrying out its nefarious project, but is also resolved to resist interference.

It would appear that the French Government obtained from that of Portugal, the very dangerous permission to procure negroes from Mozambique, for the purpose of transporting them to the island of *Réunion*, or Bourbon, adjacent to Mauritius. This permission was, however, restricted in its operation to certain limits on the Mozambique coast, it being agreed, that from that part only this so-called immigration was to take place. The French have been—either with or without permission—for some two years or more engaged in this transportation of negroes, and the naval commanders of our cruisers in those parts have not failed to communicate the knowledge of the fact to the Home-Government, stating that the trade was literally a slave-traffic. Some



months since, the *Charles et George*, a French vessel, was seized by a Portuguese man-of-war, on a part of the coast where she was not authorized to go. The vessel was provided with false decks and other slave-trading appurtenances, and there were on board a hundred and ten negroes, of whom thirteen were bound. A French agent named Nicolas Correl was on board, who alleged that all the negroes had shipped themselves voluntarily, and that the thirteen, whose arms were tied behind their backs, had been so tied by their own permission. The agent admitted, however, that, with regard to them, the agreement had not been complied with, but the captain was to blame, and it was his intention to report him immediately on his arrival at Réunion. On what would anywhere be deemed irrefragable evidence of the character of this transaction, the *Charles et George* was condemned by the Court at Mozambique; but an appeal was made against the decision to the Supreme Court at Lisbon, on the plea that the Portuguese coast authorities had no jurisdiction in the case. Pending the judgment, the captain (M. Roundel) and the crew were imprisoned at Mozambique, where one of the latter died, and ultimately the *Charles et George* was taken, with all hands, to Lisbon. At this crisis, and without awaiting the result of the appeal to the Supreme Court, the French Government sent two men-of-war into the Tagus, and succeeded in compelling Portugal to give up the slaver, and to agree to pay an indemnity, under a threat of bombarding Lisbon within forty-eight hours; and this, notwithstanding that the Portuguese Government had offered to leave the case open to the arbitration of any neutral power whom France might choose to appoint.

For the present, this shameful transaction has terminated. It teaches us, however, that France can no longer be regarded as one amongst those nations which are bent upon suppressing the slave-trade, and that she will not hesitate, if need be, to rescue, by a menace of an immediate appeal to arms, vessels actually taken in *flagrante delicto*. A similar act of force was committed in the case of the *Regina Cæli*, only in the latter case she was carried off bodily under the guns of a French man-of-war, while in the custody of the Liberian marshal. Although the outrage has led to no serious consequences, up to this time, we fear it is the germ of much evil, and the transaction may reasonably be expected, before long, to reappear in its results.

#### COMMERCE AND LABOUR IN WESTERN AFRICA.

We earnestly recommend our readers to peruse with attention the following com-

munication from Mr. Consul Campbell, addressed to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, in reply to inquiries of his respecting the effect of legitimate commerce on the value of native labour on the West coast of Africa.

"Liverpool, Oct. 15, 1858.

"MY DEAR SIR,—About twenty years since, when large numbers of Africans, captured from the Spanish and other slave-vessels, were made free in Sierra Leone, and thrown on their own resources, their labour, to obtain a livelihood, the average value of a day's labour in Freetown was fourpence.

"It was at this time that some 200 to 300 Africans emigrated from Sierra Leone to the West Indies. Since that period the legitimate commerce of that part of the North-western coast of Africa, of which Sierra Leone is the emporium, has increased, particularly the commerce in ground nuts, which, being based on the cultivation of the soil, and being a bulky article, requiring considerable labour in their collection and shipment, the price of common labour has now risen in Freetown to from ten to fifteen pence per day. This rise has been gradual, and is now fixed.

"It is not possible to obtain a correct return of the value of the exports of that part of Western Africa situate between Cape Palmas and the River Gambia, including our settlements on that river; but I do not think it exceeds half a million sterling per annum.

"The most extraordinary and rapid rise in the value of human labour has taken place at Lagos, in the Bight of Benin, during the last five years, in consequence of the great and still progressive increase of legitimate commerce, and particularly in the great staple of that part of Africa, palm-oil.

"On assuming my duties in July 1853, as Consul for the Bight of Benin, residing at Lagos, I found the value of common labour to be three strings of cowrie shells per day, the native currency of which is threepence, equal to three half-pence sterling, then and now.

"In consequence of the increasing demand for labour in the collection and shipment of palm-oil, and for other purposes connected with legitimate commerce, the value of common labour had risen at Lagos, in the month of June last, to fifteen strings of cowries per day, currency value fifteen pence, sterling sevenpence half-penny. The wages of an intelligent labourer, that is, one able to superintend and direct the labour of those placed under him, is now equal to 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per month if paid in specie, or 2*l.* 5*s.* if paid in cowrie shells.

"In the years 1853 and 1854, the value of an able-bodied slave was from four and five bags of cowries (the sterling value of a bag of cowries is 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*): the market value of such a slave, in June last, was from ten to twelve bags of

cowries, that is, of slaves brought for sale from the interior. The value of a domestic slave at Lagos is now fifteen bags of cowries.

"There is another pleasing result consequent on the increase of legitimate commerce, leading to the increased value of human labour, and to the increased market value of the new slave brought from the interior for sale, and for those who have been retained for domestic purposes. When the latter finds how greatly his value has increased, he seems to be inspired with a desire to become a freeman. This object he can attain by industry and frugality; it being customary for domestic slaves to hire themselves out for work, and to give their masters a portion (a half generally is expected) of their earnings. When the slave, male or female, has accumulated sufficient cowries, as it is expected will be asked by their owner for their redemption, an intimation is given to the owner of the desire to pay for their redemption. If the application comes from a male domestic slave, the price is fixed by the master, and, if not much above the present value of a domestic slave, the price of manumission is paid in the presence of witnesses. The owner is never too hard with his male slave, knowing well that if he has set his mind on being free, and has the means of purchasing his freedom, that if precluded from purchasing it he will take leave of his master and proceed homewards; but an African in the condition of Slavery, when he has the means, prefers generally to pay a high price for his manumission, as then no one has a claim on his person. But the case is different with a female domestic slave, probably the mother of one or two children: she must work not only for the price of her own redemption (higher than that of the male slave), but for the redemption of her children also. The women being generally employed as traders, and being very thrifty, are not long, when once they have determined on redeeming themselves and their offspring, in obtaining the requisite amount in cowries, which, although 300 and 400 per cent. on the amount originally paid for them by their owner, their object is rarely ever to be attained without a very urgent interference on their behalf by myself, so unwilling are owners of female domestic slaves to part with them, knowing, as they do, that a woman with her offspring cannot, like men, return through the country to their homes in the interior. The women, who emancipate themselves and their offspring, invariably remain at Lagos to enjoy British protection, and are furnished by me with a formal certificate, under my official seal and signature, that the value of their redemption was paid in my presence, which document will ensure their freedom so long as British influence and a Consulate exists at Lagos.

"The male slave (self emancipated) usually

returns to his country in the interior, under protection of my passport, and carrying my certificate of his self emancipation.

"But it is not alone the domestic slaves of Lagos whom the present increase of legitimate commerce and the sympathy of the British Government, (now generally known and felt): those of other districts, (particularly of Whydah and other slave ports where the slave-dealers hold large numbers of domestic slaves, rarely employing free men,) now evince a strong desire to be free, which desire has increased entirely since the revival of slave-trade by France. These, knowing it to be utterly hopeless, even if they had the means, to emancipate themselves, have secretly run away, intending to come to Lagos to put themselves under my protection. Some 150 of them have been fortunate enough to reach the British Consulate, and have been protected by me: a large portion of these have returned, armed with my passports, to their homes in the Nuffi and Hausa countries; others have preferred settling under British protection at Lagos. Many of those in escaping from Lagos have been intercepted and resold. In every instance, when it has come to my knowledge that they are retained by the chiefs of the towns lying between Whydah and Lagos, I have made a peremptory demand for them and have had them delivered up to me.

"It is this increased value of human labour, and consequently of the slave, which has frustrated M. Regis in carrying out his contract with the Government of France to procure slaves in the Bight of Benin

"R. CAMPBELL."

"To L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq."

We believe no facts of more importance—as bearing upon the question of the extinction of the slave-trade—have ever been published. They tend to shew, that if only a very small portion of the enormous sums which have been expended in abortive attempts to suppress this traffic by physical force, had been appropriated to the encouragement of legitimate trade on the coast, the slave-marts of Cuba must long since have been closed, for very lack of supplies of the human commodity.

Some idea of the development of legitimate commerce at Lagos, and in the Bight of Benin, may be gathered from the following report on it for the year 1857, compiled by Mr. Consul Campbell. From all the ports except Whydah, Porto Novo, and Ahguay, the returns are accurate, but only approximate from those named, based, however, on the tonnage of the vessels known to have loaded at them, compared with the returns furnished to the Admiralty by the naval commanders.



## SHIPPED FROM LAGOS DURING 1857.

		Value.
13,097 casks of palm-oil	4942 tons	£222,390
1053 elephant tusks	24,118 lbs.	4220
368 bales of cotton	114,848 lbs.	3490

230,200

50,000 native cotton cloths . . . . . 25,000

Total value of exports from Lagos £255,200

## Palm-oil—

From the Benin River	2650 tons
" Palma . .	3250 "
" Badagry . .	1250 "
" Porto Novo,	
Appi, Vista, &c.	4500 "
" Whydah . .	2500 "
" Ahguay and	
neighbouring	
ports . . .	2500 "

16,650 tons £732,600

150,000 country cloths of  
native manufacture from

above ports . . . . . 75,000

£1,062,800

Of the above productions there was shipped from  
Lagos in the year—

	1856.	1857.	Increase.
Palm-oil	3884 tons	4942 tons.	1058 tons.
Ivory	16,057 lbs.	24,118 lbs.	8061 lbs.
Cotton,	34,491 lbs.	114,844 lbs.	81,353 lbs.

Palm-oil from other ports—

	1856.	1857.	Increase.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Benin River .	2500	2650	150
Palma . . .	2250	3250	1000
Badagry . . .	1250	1250	
Porto Novo, &c.	4000	4500	500
Whydah . . .	2500	2500	
Ahguay, &c.	1800	2500	700

14,300 16,650 2350

From Lagos 3884 4942 1058

Total shipment in 1857 . . 21,592 3408

Mr. Campbell makes the following re-  
marks on the trade of Lagos prior to 1856—

"I entered on my duties as Consul for the Bight of Benin in July 1853. From the irregularity in collecting the King of Lagos's custom dues, it was impossible for me to make a correct return of the trade of Lagos and the neighbouring ports, before the year 1856; but the amount of palm-oil shipped from Lagos in 1853 I estimate at 650 tons; in 1854, at 1000 tons; and 1855, at 1600 tons. The oil trade at Lagos must be dated from the expulsion of Kosoko and the restoration of Ackitoye, in January 1852, when the Treaty with Ackitoye was concluded; from which date the slave-trade at Lagos, Palma, and Badagry, has wholly ceased, thus giving full scope to the development of legitimate commerce in those three districts. The exports from Palma ought to be under the head of Lagos, the port or shipping-place of Palma having been opened to keep Kosoko and his numerous followers quiet, King Docomo, of Lagos, and his councillors, having resolutely re-

fused to permit Kosoko, his chiefs and people, to trade with Lagos. The opening of the port of Palma has had the desired effect, and the success of the measure can be appreciated by the increasing amount of its exports.

"It can be perceived by the quantity of native manufactured country cloths exported to the Brazils from the Bight of Benin, that the Yoruba and other countries lying north of the Bight of Benin are cotton-growing countries. By the Genoese and other foreign traders who have for years carried on their operations between the Bight of Benin and the coast of Brazil, my estimate of the export of native manufactured cloth is considered considerably under the mark.

It is not, however, on this part of the Western coast of Africa only that legitimate trade has increased. At the risk of making this article very long we append a remarkable letter, addressed by Mr. Charles Heddle to Doctor Baikie, which we must leave to speak for itself.

"Sierra Leone, May 8th, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In our conversation of yesterday I observed to you that it appeared singular to me, that among all the reasons urged on our Government to move it to renewed exertions to open the Niger to British enterprise, that which I hold to be the strongest and most unanswerable seems entirely to have escaped the attention of the promoters of that great commercial measure. I allude to the vast extension which the trade in the rivers emptying themselves into the Bights of Biafra and Benin is about to take, and that almost immediately, from the kernel of the palm-nut becoming an article of export to Europe. You are aware that the palm-nut now exported is entirely made from the sarcocarp, or thin fibrous pericarp that surrounds the nut, and that the kernels, with the exception of an insignificant quantity used for the manufacture of oil for domestic use, are thrown away.

"The better to convince you of the value of these kernels, of the rapidity of the growth of the trade in them in our immediate neighbourhood, and of its importance, I enclose two returns. The first shews the quantity of palm-oil exported from this place from 1850 to 1856 inclusive; the other that of the kernels exported during the same period. In dealing with these returns there are two things to be kept in view. The first is, that the return of kernels does not shew the whole quantity exported from this place and its neighbourhood. A somewhat close approximation to this is, however, necessary, to arrive at the conclusion I have in view. As vessels loading in the neighbouring rivers do not take a clearance from our custom-house, many cargoes go annually direct to France, which, consequently, do not figure in our customs' return. From other sources of information I am enabled, however, to estimate that quantity, at all events for each of the two last years, at about 60,000 bushels. This would then raise the whole quantity exported from Sierra Leone, and those places in commercial dependency on it, to 150,000 bushels. On the other hand, the return of palm-oil exported shews a great excess over what is actually procured and made in the adjacent rivers—that is, in the same

localities as those from which we obtain the 150,000 bushels of kernels—owing to the circumstance that, since our trade with Lagos has been opened, several hundred tons are brought from there annually by our native traders, which, when exported to Europe, figure in our customs' return. Some oil also finds its way there from Liberia and other places to the south. Deducting these quantities from the return, I think what is actually made in our neighbourhood will be reduced to from 750 to 800 tons. I shall assume the first to be the correct quantity, and that 150,000 bushels is a fair relative proportion of kernels obtained in the manufacture of 750 tons of palm-oil. On reference to the customs' return of kernels exported, you will perceive that the trade only dates from 1850. In that year only 4096 bushels were exported; in 1852, two years after, the exports had reached 46,727 bushels; and in 1856, 90,282 bushels. To all these years there is, of course, to be added the quantity shipped direct from our rivers to France.

"Now, if among such a population, and in a country that cannot be considered as native to the palm-tree, this trade has, in a few years, made such rapid strides—this habit of industry has gained so much on the people that, during the past year, 150,000 bushels of kernels were collected and brought to market, to procure which at least 350,000 bushels of palm-nuts must have been boiled and stripped of the sarcocarp by the human hand, and subsequently broken, and the kernels separated from the shell, and then carried to a market many miles distant, thus giving, it must be admitted, a most emphatic denial to the often-repeated assertion that the negro will not labour except on compulsion—what results are we entitled to expect whenever this trade shall be generally introduced amongst the vast and industrious populations that occupy the districts proper to the palm-tree. The quantity of palm-oil imported into England from the West coast of Africa in 1856 was estimated at 45,000 tons. To this we have to add the very considerable quantity exported to the United States, France, and Hamburgh, and other continental ports, and which cannot be estimated at less than 5000 tons, thus making the whole quantity exported from the West coast of Africa 50,000 tons. Admitting, then, the 150,000 bushels of kernels obtained in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to be a fair relative proportion to the 750 tons of palm-oil procured from the same localities, it follows that the 50,000 tons of oil should give 10,000,000 bushels of kernels, equal to 223,000 tons, worth, at the high price obtained for them in France in 1856, 89,200,000 francs. We ought to arrive at nearly the same results in England. It has been ascertained that the average yield of oil from these kernels is 30 per cent.; the 223,000 tons should consequently give 67,000 tons of oil, worth, at the present price of cocoa-nut oil, which it closely resembles in all its properties, 3,350,000*l*. If we add to this the value of the cake, 12,000 tons, at the very low value of 4*l*. per ton, we should obtain 448,000*l*., making the whole gross value 3,798,000*l*. The whole quantity of tallow exported from Russia, in 1856, is estimated at 2,574,121 poods, or 49,966 tons, which, at the present price of 56*l*.

per ton, would give 2,528,130*l*. It follows, then, that the kernels now thrown away in the manufacture of the 50,000 tons of palm-oil exported from Africa are worth 1,216,870*l*. more than all the tallow exported from Russia in 1856. In estimating the value of this trade to Great Britain, there is to be taken into consideration a fact of the utmost importance, and which will render it more valuable, whenever it is established, than any other she is now engaged in. It is, that our trade with Africa is entirely a barter trade; that whilst we pay Russia almost entirely hard cash for her tallow, the whole value of these articles will be paid for in British manufactures and colonial produce, whilst the transport of 223,000 tons of produce from Africa to England will give additional employment to that extent to her seamen and shipping. And this question assumes still greater importance when taken from another point of view; that is, when we consider the effect this new industry must have, in the course of a few years, on the habits and the well-being of the African. I believe that the degraded position he now occupies in the scale of humanity proceeds rather from the want of all occupation in early life than from any cause innate in himself. The manufacture of palm-oil, and the collecting of such other produce as they can find a ready market for with the European trader, limited as it is by their limited knowledge of our requirement, can occupy but a small portion of the population; whilst the growth of their own food, in a country with a tropical sun and six months of tropical rain, affords employment only to a few women in each village, and occupies but a few weeks in the year. The rest of the population grows up in that unvaried idleness, which, I believe, is the one great cause of their poverty and their crimes, and of those frightful diseases that prostrate the physical and mental energies of a large proportion of them. Whenever this population can be brought to occupy itself with the kernels of the palm-nut, this state of things will immediately change. Every member of every family, above the age of three years, will not only have employment, but remunerative employment, during every hour of every day in the year. Thus the habit of labour will be created, and will bring with it other habits and new wants, and simultaneously with these wants the means of ministering to them. It is difficult to estimate the immense change which this must effect in the moral and physical condition of the native. Clothe him in a manner suited to his humid climate, give him a more roomy and a better ventilated hut, feed him on wholesome food, and in a few years those diseases which originate in filth, damp, and bad food, will disappear. These are no idle speculations: they are capable of proof, and the proof lies at our very door. Let any one who knew the Mellacouri,\* and other rivers in our vicinity, twenty years ago, visit them to-day, and then let him testify to the almost miraculous change that has taken place in the manners and habits of the people, in their intelligence, in short, in their entire physique and morale. This change dates entirely from the time the culture of the ground nuts was in-

\* One of the rivers to the northward of Sierra Leone.



introduced among them. Material causes produce the same effects on the African in his country as on the Englishman in his. The only difference will be in the rapidity with which effect will follow cause. The change is slower with the savage, but not less certain.

"You may say that this trade has yet to be created. I grant it; but I have shewn you the facility of its creation, and the rapidity of its growth, amongst a people placed under the greatest possible disadvantages. The readiness with which the natives have betaken themselves to this new occupation has been fully illustrated in our neighbourhood. No portion of Africa, except the desert, is more thinly peopled: the places from which we procure these kernels have, until the last two years, been annually decimated, nay, almost swept of their inhabitants, by the ravages of the slave-dealer and their own cruel superstitions. The natives are, moreover, physically and mentally inferior to the tribes south of Cape Palmas; but, in spite of all this, the trade has become what it is in the short space of four years. Now, I have a right from this to assume that its growth will be still more rapid amongst those so much more favourably situated. If we wanted additional evidence of this, we have only to look at the marvellous progress of our present palm-oil trade. It scarce dates so far back as the present century. In 1808, the quantity imported into England was only 200 tons; in 1851, it had reached 50,000 tons; and it is only during the last five years of that period that the steam-vessel has come to the aid of African commerce. What, then, are we entitled to expect in the next twenty years, when the distance between the oil-growing countries in Africa and England shall have, by steam, power, been reduced by at least two-thirds, and when steam shall ply, which it is about to do, on that artery of Africa, the Niger? Indeed, no quarter of the world affords such natural facilities for such a trade. The whole country is a natural network of canalization. It commences at Cape St. Paul, and extends to Bonny, running parallel to the coast in its whole length, and extending hundreds of miles into the interior in every direction. The 40,000,000, which Russia would astutely borrow from Europe for the formation of her railways, would, if expended on her territory, produce no such facilities for cheap transport as Nature has gratuitously bestowed on this part of Africa.

"I shall now leave these facts in your hands, whilst here you will have an opportunity of testing their accuracy, and of correcting any error into which, in my deductions from these facts, I may have fallen; for I do not pretend to scientific precision. I can only say that I have, as far as possible, endeavoured to avoid all exaggeration.

"If, after examining them, you are convinced that I have arrived legitimately and fairly at the conclusion I am at, that a trade perfectly practicable and of great importance is within our reach, you will, I have no doubt, as your present mission to Africa is so intimately connected with its future commerce with your country, do all in your power to direct to it, not only the attention of your Government, but of those of your friends

in England who have taken so great an interest in the present undertaking. They will, I am sure, whether philanthropists or practical men of business, do all in their power to hasten the development of a commerce of such vital importance to Africa and to England.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours truly,

(Signed)

"C. HEDDLE.

"To Doctor Baikie, R.N., &c."

PALM OIL EXPORTED FROM SIERRA LEONE  
DURING THE YEARS

1850.	285,032 Gallons.
1851.	212,577 ..
1852.	307,988 ..
1853.	181,438 ..
1854.	304,406 ..
1855.	364,414 ..
1856.	463,140 ..

Total...2,118,985 gallons, equal to 6,835 tons.  
Custom House, Sierra Leone,  
18th February 1857.

PORT OF FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE.

QUANTITY OF PALM-NUT KERNELS EXPORTED  
FROM THE COLONY, AS FOLLOWS, VIZ.

1850.	4,096
1851.	2,925
1852.	46,727
1853.	29,699
1854.	25,399½
1855.	65,388
1856.	90,282

Total....264,516½ bushels, equal to 6,612 tons.  
Customs, Sierra Leone,  
30th January 1857.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

THE Americans are not the only people who entertain the prejudice against colour. We insert a remarkable evidence of this fact, furnished by the special correspondent of the *Times*, in a letter published in that paper of the 20th ultimo, dated from Simlah, in India, August the 28th, and headed "The Sahib and the Nigger." The whole communication is worth attentive perusal, but we have room only for the extracts which bear most directly on this point. He says:

"Among the many causes suggested for the mutiny and revolt, or rather for the sympathy with which the mutineers and rebels have been received throughout the districts they have traversed (in which respect they have enjoyed very great advantage over us, inasmuch as sympathy is the source of information and security), there is one on which I lay considerable weight,—I allude to our roughness of manner in our intercourse with the natives. It is not a pleasing or popular task to lay bare the defects of one's countrymen, but, however ignorant I may be—and must be, indeed—of India, its people, and customs, I cannot be deceived in outward appearances and in overt acts, and I must say that I have been struck with the arrogant and repellant manner in which we often treat natives of

rank, and with the unnecessary harshness of our treatment of inferiors. The most scrubby, mean little representative of *la race blanche* ever sketched by the pencil of John Leech, regards himself as infinitely superior to the Rajpoot with a genealogy of 1000 years, or the Mussulman whose ancestors served the early Caliphs. Well, be it so; perhaps he is right: but he is certainly wrong in his mode of asserting that superiority. It is not by brutality of language, coarseness of speech, and kicks and cuffs, that we can impress the natives with a sense of our superiority. Sometimes these personal outrages are aggravated by the fact that the natives can rarely be induced to complain formally against their assailants—whether from fear of provoking revenge, or from doubts as to a fair hearing, I cannot say—and that the assaults are in such cases cowardly as well as disgraceful.”

The writer proceeds to describe individual instances of brutality, and then offers an explanation of them.

“But while we assist in maintaining caste and custom, we abhor colour. The Saxon, whether of England or America, seems unable to tolerate the approach of a *rete mucosum* with a dark pigment. We hate Slavery; we hate slaves too. There is no association, no intercourse, except of a discreditable kind, between Europeans and natives. Marriages between them now occur only among the lower classes. All society would be frightened from its propriety if at one of its balls there appeared any of those slim, tall, dark-eyed, crepe-haired, and rich-coloured Eurasian ladies, who prove that the older generation of British officers did not disdain alliances now regarded with scorn. It must be stated that the other alliances at which I have hinted have become much rarer than they were some years ago. Somehow or other, even before the mutiny, there was a rift, bottomless and apparently causeless, separating the European from the native, and increasing in breadth every day. Old officers have told me that the dignity of the old native officers—of men who had served under Napier, and Gough, and Hardinge—was wounded by the rudeness of recently arrived ensigns; that the visits of jemadars, subahdars—those visits which form so important a part of Oriental life—to their English brethren, were regarded as “a bore,” and that they sometimes led to nothing but “Tell the fellow I’m out.” The habit of speaking of all natives as Niggers has recently become quite common. That it is general now I can testify, so far as my experience goes. Every man of the mute, white-turbaned file, who, with crossed arms, glistening eyes, and quick ears, stand motionless along the mess-room table, hears it every time a native is named, and knows it is an expression of contempt. I have no desire to draw an overcharged or gloomy picture, but I cannot help saying, that if young men were to receive a little more of the excellent advice, for giving which Sir F. Currie has incurred the rapid indignation of some Indian papers, they would be all the better suited to their career, and be more likely to sustain the honour of the

English name, and our Character as a christian people.”

Such sentiments as these do honour to the man who has done his best to stay the indiscriminate slaughter of the sepoy, and who has been mainly instrumental in bringing the journal to which he is attached to the avowal of more wholesome opinions on the subject of their punishment. His remarks support the views of Major-General T. P. Thompson, M.P., that this desire for a bloody vengeance, and the marked contempt with which the natives of India are treated by white-faced fledglings in office or in authority, arise from the insane prejudice against colour. In a series of admirable letters, originally published in the *Bradford Observer*, under the title of *Letters of a Representative to his Constituents*, and now reprinted in a neat volume,\* will be found numerous allusions to this fact, which we believe to be indisputable. It is a proof how much remains to be done, even amongst ourselves, to correct public sentiment in this particular, and leaves us less at liberty to condemn the citizens of the Free States of North America for fostering the negro-phobia.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AN EXPENSIVE “INSTITUTION.”—Leaving out of question the justice or expediency of the Fugitive Slave law, it is proving a decidedly expensive institution. The recent arrest (in New York) of William M. Connelly, indicted for harbouring and concealing fugitive slaves, afford an illustration. The reporter of the *Gazette* happening in at the District Court-room the other day, his eyes happened to fall upon the original writ for arrest of Connelly, upon which the items of expenses were thus footed for presentation to Uncle Sam’s paymaster:

288 miles of travel on writ	dols. 51 48
588 “ “ with prisoner	85 80
598 “ “ two guards	171 60
Service of writ	2 00

dols. 310 88

Added to this sum are the Marshal’s fees for making the first arrest in New York, when the accused slipped through the deputy’s clutches, say dols. 60; expenses of jury and witnesses when the indictment was found, say dols. 50; which gives a total of dols. 120 88 already expended. To this may be added, at least, dols. 400 more as disbursements to the marshal, clerk, attorney, witnesses, and jury upon the approaching trial, and we have the sum of dols. 820 88—the principal part of which goes into the pockets of government officials. There is nothing cheap about the Fugitive Slave law.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

\* Published by A. W. Bennett, 5, Bishopsgate Street.